13: Hogbin

OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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[For additional information on lineage, clan, and village role in a bridewealth transaction, see Category 583.]

movements were more extravagant and exciting than those of the others; they 535
were allowed, and did, break out of line for extra flourishes that took their [825]
fancy while still remaining true to the spirit of each type of dance. A notable [776]
feature of the dances is the identification with spirits and animals on the part of
the dancers. Mistakes in drumming and dancing are thought very inauspicious for [777]
the well-being of the community. Although men and women do not dance as
partners, the dances give men a chance to show off their attractions, while the [832]
women give signs to men who impress them.

3. *Economics*

Production. The Orokaiva work force involves, in some ways, everybody from 464
the age he can walk almost until the day of death. The very young and the very
old are expected to make whatever contribution they are capable of. The 461
division of labour between the sexes has been the subject of enquiry by Williams,
Waddell and Krinks. A sex basis in the division of labour is obvious in a great 462
many activities, as the charts clearly show.[7] But even where activities are
'shared' between men and women, it is most common to see each sex group
work at a different aspect of the task; they rarely do exactly the same job.
Calculations by Waddell and Krinks show that the Orokaiva are fairly fully 464
occupied in terms of the number of weekly working hours. Their calculations
suggest that, given the present technology and social organisation, there is
comparatively little slack in the working week that could be taken up by cash
cropping activities on a major scale.

The working group is most frequently the household, occupied in the *pure.* 592
Sometimes close relatives work together on larger tasks, helping each other in
turn. Although old men do maintain their own gardens, they tend to receive
frequent help from sons, sons-in-law and sometimes sisters' sons. Co-operation 476
between men is also common during hunting and housebuilding. Co-operative
groups of five or more men or women are also seen occasionally, e.g. for making
roofing for a house, planting and harvesting yams. Co-operation of a total village 621
is rare, but there are co-operative fishing and hunting expeditions. Activities
related to feasting tend to be communal also.

Distribution. The Orokaiva have a subsistence economy where the bulk of 433
goods produced are consumed by the household of the producer. Though 437
patterns of exchange will take up a good part of the present work, it is necessary
to state at the outset that only a small percentage of everyday produce enters
the exchange system in any way. Waddell estimates that only 4.1 per cent of
taro produced in Sivepe is disposed of by sale, gift exchange or barter. While the
proportion is twice as high in Inonda, this is due to quite recent changes in the
economic network in that area. One is bound to agree with Waddell that food
exchanges, whatever their economic utility, are no great drain on Orokaiva
resources. Of the produce entering the exchange network only a minute
proportion leaves the village where it is grown. At a comparatively large feast I
saw in Inonda in 1967, I estimated that Inonda was giving away, at the very
utmost, 5 per cent of its annual production. As plantings are always made on a
scale sufficient for survival *even if the harvest is poor*, there will be a surplus of at
least 5 per cent after a good growing season. Unless the growing season is good, [527]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but 436
obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 437
192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this
category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift 431
exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in
importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in 621 ●
operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great
influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical 622
sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is 657
made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the
government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in
practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any [171]
leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being
nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the
Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an
Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority 181
outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the
exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, 177
can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A [622]
traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or
drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs, savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I 773
inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages, I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without 173
history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is 773
very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the
branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo* tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

423 man to take responsibility while their sons are still too young. This man will
431 'look after' their land in an economic, political and religious sense and will restore it to the son or sons when they come of age. But in the cases of which I have
736 knowledge, some land is likely to stay with the protector, who often becomes an heir of the widow or cripple.

423 4. In all the cases mentioned so far land is an object representing respectable status and exchangeable for services of a quasi-filial nature. The same
591 applies to most instances I know of uxorilocal marriage. Here it was usually the
583 wife's relatives who desired the husband to stay with them, whereas the latter had no pressing reasons to leave his home village. They were generous in their offers of land, and no sensible man would move without such inducement. After the eruption of Mount Lamington, the survivors of the Sangara tribe, greatly reduced in numbers, offered generous land portions, on a wholly permanent basis, to men who would marry uxorilocally. Widowers dependent on the care of their daughters will encourage uxorilocal marriage in the same way. (The frequency of uxorilocal marriage among the Orokaiva is between 5 and 10 per cent.) In these cases it is clear that land donors are motivated by the desire to attract the son-in-law, and that the son-in-law is motivated by pleasure at the status he will gain as symbolised by the land he is allowed to 'look after'.

423 5. A very similar motivation may be found for the land transfers made in Sivepe in 1966–7 to families who had migrated from neighbouring Garombi.
425 Seeking an increase in population, Sivepe leaders frequently encouraged dissident
166 minorities in some neighbouring villages to join them. When the Garombi people came, a good deal of effort was made to obligate them and attract their friendship and loyalty. Two men gave useholds over gardens and one man gave a usehold over three yam gardens. It is likely that there were other transfers as well, just before I left the field and afterwards. One of the men who received a taro garden started using the donor's plant emblem when working in that garden, thus emphasising the closeness of the bond with the donor's family, as plant emblems are normally transmitted only by descent. Here the donors were motivated by a desire to attach the immigrants more closely to themselves, and the recipients gave friendship and loyalty in return. Here, as in uxorilocal residence, the migrants' willingness to settle in the village was itself treated as a benefit bestowed upon the local people by the migrants.

423 6. As already mentioned, the transfer of land to sisters and daughters is very common. It is the rule that, in the absence of brothers and sons, sisters and
428 daughters should inherit land in preference to second degree kin. I know of
425 several instances where absent brothers and sons were overlooked in favour of sisters and daughters resident in the village. Even if brothers and sons are living in the village, some land may be transferred to females. This will occur especially if a daughter's or sister's husband is known to be short of gardening land. In addition, it may occur for the kind of reasons given by Lawrence in his discussion of land transfers among the Garia, i.e. the enhanced status gained by the mother's brother when he acquires a junior follower strongly dependent on
[554] him. Among the Orokaiva where the majority of people marry close to home, a man's generosity to his sister may yield him quite a number of loyal supporters if the sister happened to have many children.

423 7. Land is sometimes made available by an individual *enda mama* for a
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community purpose. Whenever a new village is built it is necessary for some 423
individual to give garden land. Often several individuals give a piece each, but 621
such a gift does not entitle the donor to decide just who should live on each 431
house site, nor to control in detail what residents do with their housing sites.
Trees planted by householders remain theirs in perpetuity. Such gifts to the [554]
community are not balanced by any specific reciprocal gifts or services, but the
donors benefit by the contiguity of the village to their gardening land and
perhaps, in a diffuse way, they benefit in social and religious status. Similar gifts
have also been made in recent times for co-operative cash-cropping ventures,
such as rice-growing in the late 1940s and a recent rubber co-operative in Sivepe.
Here again, the total 'company' land was contributed by a number of people,
some of whom shared out parcels to persons interested in planting rubber trees.
In such cases, donors told me they acted for the good of the community, and
everybody emphasised that the recipients incurred no obligation.

Let us now summarise briefly what social benefits are being exchanged 423
between partners in land transactions. Frequent as they are, voluntary land 425
transfers are always treated, in ideological statements, as departures from a
regular and more secure patrilineal pattern. It is a though a maternal uncle or 571
affine or distant agnate has voluntarily assumed the role of fictional father of the borrower. One receives a benefit which, in the 'normal' state of affairs, would be given only to a younger brother or son. I do not know of cases where long-term borrowing of land in itself sufficed to induce a man to change his clan affiliation, as seems to happen among the Garia. In one case I quoted, a man adopted the lender's plant emblem, thus emphasising the element of fictional fatherhood. Other informants regarded this as entirely proper and highly sympathetic behaviour, though totally voluntary. Harvest gifts, however, were not wholly voluntary but expected. So was a certain filial attitude of loyalty, obligatory avoidance of quarrels, and willingness to perform supportive services. Only in the case of a son-in-law performing bride service did such an obligation place the borrower in a servant-like position. On the contrary, in most of the cases I quoted it was the lender who felt the stronger need to attract the borrower and enter into a closer relationship with him. For instance, the donor would often have a strong desire for a reliable military and political alliance with the borrower. If supportive familial services were needed, as in the case of old men and widowers, these services were not provided in repayment for land, but in fulfilment of a kinship-determined social obligation. By making a gift of land, the donor was doing no more than express his quasi-paternal sentiments.

We may conclude that, strictly, land is hardly ever an 'object of exchange', in 423
that one cannot suggest any specific major counter-gift or counter-service which 437
could be used to reciprocate. Allegiance and protection, benefits which the
land-borrower usually does furnish, cannot be bought with land. They may be 571
given as a response to quasi-paternal support and the enhancement of economic,
social and ritual status. Social benefits of this kind are regularly exchanged
between non-agnates. In fact, it may be said that it is from social exchanges of [182]
this kind between non-agnates that Orokaiva society derives its cohesion or, to
use Lawrence's phrase, maintains its security circle.

Why is land appropriate as a mediating object in such exchanges of social 423
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824 and the male is also the most illustrious victim of the killer – the victim whose name and spirit is adopted by the killer. This theme, widely reported among headhunters, is strongly emphasised in Orokaiva culture, as Williams recognised. [773] In the myth discussed here, and in several others, these complementary male and female aspects of the taro are indicated by the presence of a pair of *dema*, probably always siblings of opposite sex, and clearly marked as such in the present myth.

261 773 In addition to father, mother and twins, the myth contains a fifth character, the man from Managalasi, whose peculiarly male role is the hunting of animals. The marriage between him and Totoima's daughter lays down the Orokaiva principle that taro is a female product given to a man whereas meat is a male product given to a woman. In a number of myths I collected on the origin of marriage, that institution is set up by the male hero's action of bringing home meat to a woman instead of eating it in the bush, as was customary before marriage existed.

824 773 539 If female nature, in its pure state, is found in the taro garden and male nature, in its pure state, in the jungle, then it follows that human beings, being born of a man and a woman, have a mixed nature. In Totoima this dual nature is imperfectly developed (for he eats taro in the manner of a wild pig); similarly it is, at first, imperfectly developed in his son who does not hunt and has a purely taro nature. It is only when the man from Managalase has replaced the son's taro entrails with animal entrails that the latter has the power to defeat his father. He is then superior to his father because he has a fully human nature which is symbolised for instance by his manner of killing, with a club rather than the teeth (tusks), as did Totoima.

824 431 562 The analysis of this myth has enabled us to understand more precisely the sense in which it may be said that taro is, as Sahlins put it, symbolic of 'mother'. The Orokaiva do speak of taro as 'our mother' and the ideas they have in mind when they do so have been explained above. Taro is two things: it is a gift from a woman to her husband, and it is the offspring of the woman's womb inasmuch as she is identified with the taro goddess. The woman gives most of the taro-children she collects in the garden to her husband and others of her household, but she may extend this munificence by giving taro to others, i.e. by acting towards others as a quasi-wife or as though they were part of her household. Gifts of taro always have this intimate and deeply personal character as though the receiver was made part of the donor's household. The woman bears herself proudly, being pleased at having grown and cooked the food well; her attitude is formal and ceremonious, thus emphasising the importance of the gift and her respect for the recipient; at the same time she shows a certain solicitude, as though the recipient must be very hungry and very much in need of this meal.

3. *Taro as Mediator of Social Relations*

824 431 621 Gifts of taro may mediate either the establishment or perpetuation of a social relationship. But the ritual context of the gifts differs considerably. By far the most frequent type are gifts which maintain relationships; these are made by every Sivepe household every day. In the twenty-eight days for which I took

records of taro gifts made in Sivepe village, the number of gifts made and 824
received averaged 2.5 daily, ranging from a minimum of 1.3 averaged by the 431
household least involved in the exchange system, to a maximum of 4.1 averaged
by the household that made and received the most frequent gifts during the 621
period. Allowing for variations in size, age and personality characteristics in the various households, these figures present a fairly homogeneous picture of customary exchanges.

Most of the gifts were made within the village, though a small proportion 824
went to relatives and good friends who visited the village or who were visited by
members of the Sivepe community. The usual practice was for the woman to 431
bring home with her from the garden not only the taro her household was to eat 571
that night and the next morning, but also taro to be used for giving away. When the recipient was of the same village, the taro would be cooked and presented ready to eat. The presentation was hardly ever made by the husband and most frequently by the children who were sent over with the cooked food and gave it to the named recipient without any ceremony. When there was any ceremony about the gift at all, the housewife was the proper person to make the presentation.

If I inquired who was the donor of the food I was often given the name of the woman, but sometimes the name of her husband, especially if the recipient was one of the husband's close kinsmen. There was always the notion that the gift served to maintain a specific relationship which would be involving either the
husband or the wife. Strictly speaking, by far the greater proportion of the gifts [602]
were thus made to consanguines rather than affines. But it is better to regard the [621]
household as an integrated unit in its relations with other households, as the spouses undoubtedly mostly discuss together to whom food should be given. Essentially, taro gifts mediate relationships between households rather than individuals.

The size of the gifts was constant and seemed to be approximately what one 824
person would eat for a meal. If a household made a gift of several meals to 431
another household, this would be described to me as several gifts, with
specification of the names of individual recipients. Here again, there was a 571
contrast between the strict form of the gift and its overall significance. Strictly it 621
was food given by one person in household A to one person in household B. When the family sat down to eat, the person who received the gift taro would share it out to others in the household. Therefore one may say that the gift was, in its general effect, from one household to another, but in strict form, it was emphasised that the social relationship between households A and B was mediated by one person in each household whose relationship was especially close. Thus, I might be told that 'X' sent taro to his brother 'Y'. In fact, X's wife would give the taro to one of her children who would take it probably to Y's wife. Y's wife would give it to Y, saying it came from X. Y would then give everyone a piece of it. A single gift would thus mediate quite a number of bonds.

As the gifts were very frequent, it seems a hopeless enterprise to specify on what occasions they were made; at first I thought taro gifts were made without any reason. Nonetheless, it is useful to discuss briefly a series of instances when taro gifts are considered appropriate. Let us first list a few of the more formal occasions when the housewife herself would make the presentation:

431 1. The recipient's household was receiving a guest from a different village,
824 or a family member returning after a period of absence. In such a case, the guest would invariably be specified as the recipient of the gift. Informants would also say that they were 'helping' the host household.

[846] 2. A woman in the recipient's household had just had a baby. In such a case the woman herself was forbidden to go to her garden (*post partum* taboo) so she had to be helped by others who would bring her food.

[464] 3. After any death in a household, food would be brought by women from a number of households, again because death places a taboo upon the garden of the bereaved family.

There were also certain stereotyped situations where people felt they must make gifts of taro, but where no special ceremony was necessary. Here the food was often sent through the donor's children:

[476] 4. The recipient had performed some service for the donor's household during the day. The gift in such cases was not really a payment for services
[621] rendered, though sometimes it was explained to me that so-and-so was sent some food because he had been unable to do his garden that day: he had spent the day helping the donor. Such an explanation was always unsatisfactory because the man's wife had usually gone to the garden. Also, it would be very wrong to suppose that there was something like a free labour market and that a day's work could be purchased for a meal. It is better to assume that the two households were on an intimate footing, were in the habit of sending each other food occasionally, and that such gifts never signified more than a confirmation of the warm feelings existing between them. When a man had just been helping the donor household, such an affirmation of warm feelings would be especially appropriate.

[736] 5. The recipient was too old to grow for himself all the food he needed. In such a case he or she rarely moved into the household of a younger couple. There are actually a number of strict rules which make such an arrangement most uncomfortable for Orokaiva. For instance, spouses are not allowed to quarrel in the presence of a parent or an affine. Until an elderly person becomes very sick, he or she lives in a separate house, but cooked food is sent to that house regularly by one or more women who look after the old person.

6. Food was also sent, as a matter of common obligation, to the house of a person who was sick or disabled.

[621] These cases by no means exhaust the occasions when taro gifts were made. There were, in addition, certain households with which relations were so close that food was sent over several times a week, even in the absence of any particular reason. One might say that such households lived in a state of semi-commensality. Though they each ate in or in front of their own houses, they tended to spend the evenings together sitting and chatting around the same fire. In the mornings they would sit together before going to their gardens.

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The proper form in which to present taro in all the cases discussed so far was without the taro tops, cut up, cooked and ready for eating. These gifts signified no more than a simple extension of commensality from the mostly nuclear

household to other households with which the bonds were intimate. Their 824
function was to maintain existing social relationships. Nobody maintained 431
relations of this sort with every household in the village; in the twenty-eight days
for which I kept tally, the number of partnerships of individual households 621 ●
varied from three to fourteen out of a total of twenty-two households surveyed. 437
This means that the households with the smallest networks had only three
exchange partners during the survey period, out of a possible total of
twenty-one, and the households with the largest network still failed to exchange
with seven of the available households. The average number of exchange partners
for the sample was 8.5. If the survey period had been longer, no doubt this
average would have been higher, but even when critical events occurred (there
was one death and one important visitor in the survey period) food
contributions were not sent by *all* households, nor even by all households
belonging to the same clan. Each household had its own private network, partly
determined by close consanguineal and affinal ties but partly also by
idiosyncratic considerations.

Taro gifts made to establish new relationships were of a different kind. In 824
speaking of a 'new' relationship, I do not mean only those cases where gifts were
made to persons hitherto unknown. Such cases were rare indeed. It may be 431
justified, however, to speak of 'new' relationships when the nature of a 437
relationship was changed dramatically, made significantly more intimate, as the
result of a ceremony where gifts were made. Such a change would occur when [728]
one village invited another to a feast, thus terminating old hostilities and placing
the relationship on a new footing. Similarly, a dramatic change in relationship [585]
would occur as the result of a wedding ceremony when two kinship groups,
whatever their previous relation, would begin to regard each other as affines. On
a smaller scale, some relationships are intimate only at the time of actual
contact. An example would be guest friendships and trading partnerships. Here
the intimacy has to be re-established on every one of the infrequent occasions
when one partner visits the other. Even if there has been no conflict whatever, [572]
Orokaiva always ritually assume that a long-absent friend has become a stranger
and the relationship must be restored. As far as I know, Orokaiva do not carry
this notion as far as the Maori, who greet a long-absent friend as though they
were still heavily in mourning for his death.

Taro is always given by the hosts when such a 'new' relationship is 824
established. But in such cases the taro is uncooked, and still has the top attached 431
to it. I was told that taro, in that form, still contained a spirit and was 'alive'.
The ceremonial way of giving such taro is in the form of a pyramid-like mound, [774]
the tubers facing outwards, the tops facing inwards. On the top of the mound,
a few taro are placed with the tops facing upwards. The mounds should be built
on a *gaga*. It will be noticed that the position of the taro on the *gaga* is precisely
the same as the position in which Totoima's son lay ('with his chest turned
upwards') when his father attacked him.

If we compare this type of gift with the type considered previously, we notice several reversals of the symbolism:

824 between co-residence and commensality, notions which the Orokaiva themselves
431 clearly do not regard as synonymous. Persons who are co-resident are always, in
practice, at least in part commensal, they are not necessarily wholly so. Not only
125 old people but also bachelors and young women, single or married, receive gifts
592 of taro from other households of which they are the specific recipients. Food they receive in their own residence may therefore be classed as a gift if they have not supplied raw food to the housewife on the same day.

824 To what extent is there a notion that food gifts should be balanced as
between donor and recipient? According to the statistics, perfect balance is
431 uncommon and occurs most often where exchanges are somewhat infrequent. In
621 Table VI/1, I classified households according to the degree of balance in all
128 intra-village taro gifts made to persons resident in other households. The code number 0 indicates perfect balance in the total number of gifts sent and received; the code number 6 indicates an imbalance greater than the proportion 75:25. Intermediate code numbers indicate a lesser amount of imbalance. At first sight, Tables VI/1 and VI/2 suggest that little importance is attached to balance in food gifts. In more than half the households, the total imbalance exceeds the proportion 60:40. Nor does there seem to be an ideological charter enjoining a person who has received a food gift to return that gift in the near future. The donor says he expects no return gift. If one asks him why he has made the gift he never mentions services or gifts received in the past for which he may be reciprocating. He will say, 'because that man is my wife's father's sister's son' or whatever the kinship relation may be.

A more careful look at the figures, however, makes one wonder whether such indifference to balance is the whole story. Some informants stated that though the donor expects no return gift, the recipient often likes to make one. Some families are more punctilious than others in this respect. The most punctilious of all was the leading family of Seho (H5, H12, H13, H14, H20, H21). They all had an imbalance smaller than the proportion 55:45. Only one other household in the sample achieved this low score.

[737] In most of the households where there is an extreme inbalance, the explanation is that the household contains aged people who require help, or that the household is deeply involved in giving help to aged people. This factor accounts for the inbalance in households 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 18, 18a, and 19. The imbalance in households 8 and 9 is explained by the fact that householder 8 was
[166] helping householder 9 to build a house. Householders 5, 15, and 17 were immigrants from Garombi who gave more than they received, probably because of an anxiety to become accepted and build up good relations in their new place of residence.

824 Finally, the notion of balance is implicit in the timing of many of the taro
431 gifts. It was a very common practice indeed to make a return gift on the same
day as a gift of taro had been received, or on the day immediately following.
571 Though informants told me they were under absolutely no obligation to respond
621 so urgently or to respond at all, the record shows that in practice they frequently did so. We must therefore conclude that the Orokaiva do have some notions which lead them to reciprocate taro gifts, even though there is no rule enjoining immediate balanced exchange.

I would suggest that the Orokaiva proceed from a notion that taro is a

TABLE VI/1

SIVEPE: TARO TRANSACTIONS BY HOUSEHOLD

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Household Code No.	*Total Transactions*	*Sent*	*Received*	*No. of Partners*	*Degree of Imbalance**
1	58	40	18	9	4
2	37	1	36	6	6
3	41	26	15	9	3
4	57	35	22	9	3
5	101	54	47	14	1
6	70	45	25	4	3
7	87	24	63	12	5
8	56	33	23	3	2
9	71	40	31	6	2
10	58	21	35	5	3
11	68	36	32	10	1
12	117	59	58	8	1
13	85	44	41	7	1
14	101	52	49	7	1
15	60	34	26	11	2
16	60	37	23	13	3
17	79	50	29	14	3
18	62	9	53	10	6
18a	48	37	11	10	6
19	81	54	27	9	4
20	84	46	38	12	1
21	82	41	41	8	0

* Code: 0 = larger donor gives exactly 50% of gifts;
1 = larger donor gives 50–55%; 2 = larger donor gives 55–60%;
3 = larger donor gives 60–65%; 4 = larger donor gives 65–70%;
5 = larger donor gives 70–75%; 6 = larger donor gives over 75%.

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mediating element in the perpetuation of social relations. Within a village, social relations of some sort exist between almost all the members. In my enquiries in Sivepe I came across only one instance of two men, both resident in Sivepe, who denied having or ever having had social relations of any sort with each other. There may have been one or two more instances I did not detect, but they would be very rare. Social relations between households in a village may range from very distant (when no taro gifts are exchanged) to very intimate (when taro gifts may be made four or more times per week). Many households have social relations which are close but not intimate, symbolised by taro gifts made a few times per month. The frequency of taro gifts is of course not the only way of symbolising intimacy, though it is the sign I found the easiest to quantify. It was my impression that those households which maintained the most frequent informal association with one another were also those who made each other the most frequent taro gifts. These were the households who were deeply dependent

924 on one another in sentiment, in economic tasks, in political support. They would
431 tend to side with one another in village disputes. Thus, taro gifts were a ritual
621 statement in which one household expressed its desire for close association with
another.

571 Now, on this level of association, mutuality and reciprocity are obviously essential if the association is to be established on an equal footing. The return gift should therefore not be considered principally as an obligation (arising from a 'norm of reciprocity') but as a ritual statement reciprocating the desire to maintain a close association. Here the question of the frequency of gifts is closely connected with the question of how intimate either side wishes the association to be. An increase of the frequency of gifts means a desire for a more intimate association. The recipient may wish to keep the association within certain limits. The Garombi migrants who gave more than they received seemed to be constantly trying to build up new alliances and were welcomed more warmly by some of the old residents than by others.

Failure to make a return gift of course does not always 'mean' that one is not interested in maintaining social relations of the closeness envisaged by the other party. There are many circumstances when people are not immediately in a position to make return gifts. In such cases I would not say that the recipient remains entirely without obligation, but rather that the obligation is delayed indefinitely. Thus a man may say he is giving food to his father or other senior relative because of some benefits received in the past. (He was himself fed by the senior person in his youth; he was helped with his bride-price, etc.) Or else a man will say that when his hosts visit his own village, he will then reciprocate. In fact guests customarily press their hosts to make an early return visit and hosts sometimes feel some obligation to do so. It is a pleasurable obligation no doubt, but it is clear that the purpose of such a journey is not to get one's taro back but to maintain the association.

It follows from this discussion that the households to which the most frequent taro gifts are made are those with which the greatest intimacy is desired. If the recipients, though fully capable of making equally frequent return gifts, reciprocate too half-heartedly, the donor household will probably reduce its gifts to the level acceptable to its partner. If the recipients are not capable of making equally frequent returns, the frequent gifts will continue, and the taro ledger will remain unbalanced. Thus, irrespective of the degree of balance, we may regard high frequency of taro gifts as a generally reliable index of intimacy of association. I am leaving out of consideration here the question, raised by Sahlins (1965), of whether degree of balance is determined by kinship distance. Exchanges of taro have a social as well as an economic aspect. Where the social aspect is uppermost (i.e. where the exchanges are not primarily based on need), they tend to be close and balanced, as long as both partners are satisfied with the prevailing frequency of interaction. Where the economic aspect is uppermost (i.e. where one partner is for some reason unable to harvest his own taro), no *social* importance is attached to imbalance and Sahlins' generalisation would probably hold for the Orokaiva of Sivepe.

5. *Clusters and Chains, Two Patterns of Intimacy*

How can taro gifts mediate close associations among larger groups than dyads of 824
exchange partners? This involves a complex sociological problem that cannot be 431
solved in the framework of the present study: why do men tend to give
disproportionate attention to a very small number of their closest associates and 571
much less attention to a larger group who are still close and trusted friends? A 621
principle of allocation clearly operates here: intimate relationships demand more time and energy than can be devoted to the entire circle of close friends. But it is by no means clear what is the role of intimates as distinct from other valued friends. This hierarchy of association, whatever its explanation, is very evident among Orokaiva, not only in the way in which individuals spend their leisure time and compose their co-operative groups, but also in their allocation of taro gifts among their exchange partners.

In Sivepe the number of exchange partners maintained by a household varies from three to fourteen, with an average of 8.5. The first (i.e. most frequent) partner is involved in an average of 38 per cent of all taro transactions, the second partner in 24 per cent, the third in 12 per cent while the other partnerships account for only 26 per cent of all transactions. It is clear that the first and second partners are in a very privileged position in comparison with the others.

A second way of describing the pattern of intimacy would be to assume that there is some community norm whereby a certain degree of intimacy is expressed by a specific frequency of interaction. My impressions, supported by the statistical data and some generalisations offered by informants, is that each household has a few preferential partners to whom it gives or from whom it receives taro at least twice a week, but often far more frequently. In this sense every household in my sample had at least two preferential partnerships. Ten households out of twenty-two had a third, five households a fourth and one (the Seho clan leader) had five preferential partnerships.

The data show that where households are linked by primary kinship, they mostly set up a 'preferential' taro partnership. Only 30 per cent of preferential partnerships, however, fall in this category. The rest can be accounted for only if land transactions, political considerations, and the total past history of personal relationships and transactions are taken into consideration.

For statistical reasons alone it would seem that preferential partnerships are worth some detailed investigation. They clearly add substantially to the number of intimates on whom an individual can count for support over and above those who can be depended on purely by virtue of membership of the same corporate group. In addition preferential partnerships are of crucial importance as a basis for close co-operation between sets of persons larger than the exchanging dyad.

In Fig. 8, all preferential partnerships in Sivepe are shown in sociographic [128]
form. A distinction has been made in the sociogram according to the extent to which social preference is mutual. Households A and B may be said to stand in a 'closest mutual relationship' (marked by a hard line), if B is a first or second partner to A and A is a first or second partner to B. If none, or only one of these conditions are satisfied, the relationship is shown by a wavy line.

Though a full analysis of taro gift patterns has to await separate publication,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

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TABLE VI/2

SIVEPE: TARO TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN PREFERENTIAL PARTNERS

Household Code No.	*First Partner*	*Sent*	*Received*	*Second Partner*	*Sent*	*Received*	*Third Partner*	*Sent*	*Received*
1	H17	7	11	H2	16	0	H5	4	3
2	H1	0	17	H3	0	11	H17	1	4
3	H2	12	0	H17	4	4	H4	2	5
4	H5	15	12	H3	5	2	H7	6	0
5	H4	12	14	H6	11	7	H21	11	6
6	H7	33	12	H5	7	11	H4	2	2
7	H6	14	30	H19	5	11	H4	0	6
8	H9	13	16	H10	18	7	H7	2	0
9	H8	15	15	H10	16	7	H13	4	2
10	H8	7	17	H9	7	12	H11	3	4
11	H12	10	11	H20	18	4	H18	6	2
12	H13	17	19	H14	15	19	H11	12	10
13	H14	21	17	H12	19	16	H9	2	3
14	H13	16	21	H12	17	16	H15	6	8
15	H14	8	6	H16	6	7	H12	3	5
16	H17	8	6	H15	7	6	H7	7	0
17	H1	11	5	H16	6	8	H18	7	3
18	H18a	0	15	H17	3	7	H11	3	6
18a	H18	15	0	H19	8	4	H17	3	3
19	H7	24	5	H18a	4	8	H12	5	6
20	H21	28	19	H11	4	8	H5	4	4
21	H20	22	20	H5	6	11	H11	4	1

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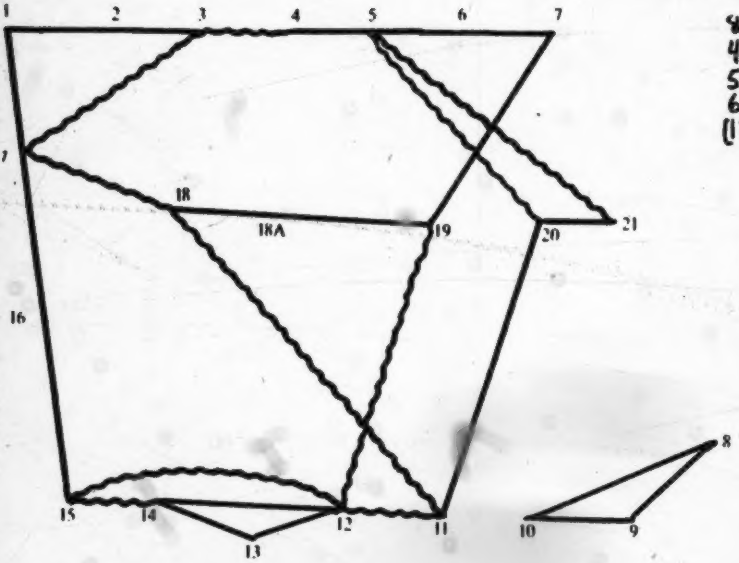

Fig. 8. Taro gifts in Sivepe: sociogram of preferential partnerships. Households are numbered as in Fig. 9 (see p. 202). Straight lines indicate closest mutual relationships, while wavy lines indicate other preferential partnerships.

some generalities are given here, related to our general argument. Taro gifts were used especially to mediate relationships between neighbours, close kin, exchange partners, and with certain persons of special status such as leaders, magicians, and the like. The Garombi immigrants used the system somewhat differently from the old residents, as the former were more actively seeking new partnerships, especially with the more influential old residents.

Graph analysis shows two chief patterns: the cluster and the circuit. From the viewpoint of the quality of social relationships, the cluster is obviously to be preferred, as it provides intimate one-degree links between all members of the community. No doubt the Orokaiva's traditional predilection for small villages of six households or so arose from the comfortable feeling that all households could then be intimate with each other. We find several clusters among Sivepe inhabitants, especially among Seho and Sorovi households, but if preferential partnerships did not exist except inside these clusters, the result would be a division of the village into very loosely connected cliques.

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In fact, we find a second connecting principle which I have called the circuit, as it resembles the Hamilton circuit familiar in graph theory. A circuit of *n* households (H1, H2, H3 . . . , Hn) is defined as a set in which H2 has a

824 'closest mutual relationship' with H1 and H3; H3 with H2 and H4 and so on.
431 Closure of the circuit is achieved if Hn has a 'closest mutual relationship' with
571 H(n – 1) and H1. The largest such circuit, or near-circuit, connects the great
621 majority of households of all clans and may thus be considered a unifying
128 principle for the village as a whole. The second, much more strongly
constructed, links eleven households of the Jegase-Sorovi clans, but includes not a single Seho household. Even though this circuit of ten households contains two flaws (wavy instead of hard lines), it is most improbable that it would turn up by chance.

How circuits are generated in time becomes clear from a study of the recent immigrants from Garombi. Householder 17, before leaving Garombi, had no particularly close links in Sivepe; yet our survey shows him as having two preferential partnerships with old-time Sivepe residents, one Jegase and one Seho (H18 and H16 respectively).

A curious feature is the almost uniform practice of choosing immediate neighbours as preferential partners. It would be too simple, however, to suppose that there is a rule whereby one must have these specially frequent exchanges
[361 with one's neighbours. Certainly I never found a trace of such a rule. On the
209] other hand there are quite complex considerations in the choice of house sites,
such that there is the maximum correspondence between physical and social distance from others in the village. When social relations between neighbours become bad, one of them is liable to shift his house elsewhere, so he can be close to an intimate.

824 The circuit corresponds remarkably well to the Orokaiva system of clan
431 formation. Thus the Jegase 'clan' in Sivepe is actually constituted by four totally
571 unrelated groups, three of which migrated to Sivepe since the beginning of the
621 century and which gradually grew into a single clan by a process of fusion (See
128 Chapter X). They now occupy six houses and ancillary buildings on the
614 Jegase-Sorovi circuit, and three houses which form a chain attached to that
circuit, i.e. a total of nine houses. Each 'lineage' forms a short chain of its own, and the chains are mostly linked together by uterine bonds. Now it is precisely these uterine bonds which brought about the fusion of the groups of migrants into a single clan. Yet this clan was still far more fragmented than Seho. Therefore, there was not much incentive to clustering, which requires far greater intimacy than existed among the Jegase.

824 It is precisely the lack of intimacy between small social chains that produced
431 the Sivepe circuits. As we have seen, these circuits are mathematical models built
571 after the reality of residence and taro exchange patterns. It is characteristic of a
621 circuit that no two households share the same 'closest mutual relationships'.
128 Thus H2 and H3 have a 'closest mutual relationship' but H3 does not share the
'closest mutual relationship' between H2 and H1. It is in this respect that a chain is quite unlike a 'minimal cluster'. The chain arrangement has two practical consequences: if H1 falls out with H3, H2 will mediate; and if H1 and H3 wish to co-operate, H2 will normally be a party to the arrangements as these tend to be made in front of his house, in his hearing and probably in his presence. The structure provides for the possibility that H3 may draw in H4, H4 may draw in H5 and so forth. Actual cases of such political action will obviously tend to be

less tidy but lateral communication by means of intermediaries was a pattern to 824
be frequently observed.
The topographical position of a house was therefore at the same time a fixed 431
position in the taro exchange network and in the network of alliances. One 621
could almost tell from where a person lived what that person would do. When 571
fierce arguments and hot abuse rang through the night as two households held a 128
cutting dispute with each other, those households were likely to live at opposite
ends of the village, either at far ends of the chain or at opposite ends of a wider [209]
and looser chain of associations which comprised the village as a whole.

The Seho clusters and the Jegase–Sorovi chain were at opposite sides of the
village, but were linked to each other by two connecting chains, consisting 824
largely of people who lived at the outer ends of the elongated village rectangle. 431
One of these connecting chains was formed by men who came from Soroputa 621
and who married wives from the Seho clan. (H5, H20-H21, H11, H12.) The
other connecting chain consisted of Seho and Sorovi householders whose 614
distinguishing feature was that they maintained rather wide taro exchange 361
networks, had peaceful natures and tried to keep on friendly terms with almost 129
everyone. (H14, H15, H16, H17). The links shown on the sociogram between the Jegase-Sorovi chain and the Seho people are of great interest as they show the degree of closeness between the two main clan formations (Jegase and Seho). Judging from the taro exchange network, these relations are not critically remote but on the other hand not so close that the two sides are in any danger of losing their separate identity.

Leadership in the two clans differed in a manner that is clearly recognisable on 614
the graph. Seho had an aristocratic type of New Guinean 'big man' leadership, the 571
leader (H12) having hardly any real intimates except primary kin who were
rather numerous. These primary kin, however, between them, had intimate links 554
with nearly everybody in the village. The leader had preferential partnerships 129
and close connections with a few but not all the Garombi immigrants, using his close contacts as middlemen. The Jegase sociometric star (H5) had a far wider exchange network, including all the Garombi families, and almost nightly there were large gatherings in his *arara*. On the other hand, his primary kin links were far fewer; he depended on the systematic fostering of new associations for his challenge to the Seho leadership. Thus cluster and circuit, the two types of association found in Sivepe, each had its own characteristic form of leadership.

6. *Structural Implications*

We have found that gifts of cooked taro are essentially a woman's gift, and that 824
these gifts, if made continuously at short intervals, are a ritual statement of the 431
maintenance of intimacy between pairs of households. The exchange may be
stated formally in the following diagram: 621

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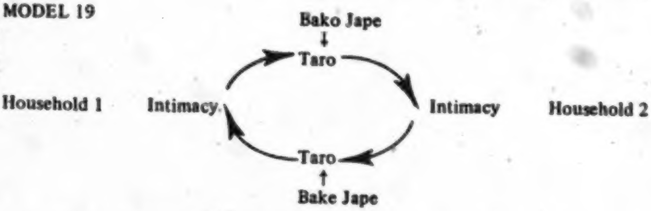
MODEL 19



How can an exchange model of this sort establish enduring solidarity in a village containing as many as twenty-two households? In a small cluster of households solidarity can be established by the device of every member exchanging with the required frequency with every other member.

But when there are twenty-two households, the same pattern could be maintained only if twenty-one 'closest mutual relationships' were kept up by each household. This is manifestly impossible as the relationships require, not only regular gifts of taro, but also close and frequent association.

Several devices for increasing the range of a solidarity network have been explored in Lévi-Strauss' theoretical study of marriage exchange (1949). They may be classified as various forms of direct and generalised exchange. Theoretically, any of these devices might have been used to cope with the problems of taro exchange. There might have been a rule delaying the return of gifts, or even forbidding the acceptance of taro gifts from those to whom one had given taro. But these devices would have made an exchange network of twenty-two households theoretically feasible. None of them is, in fact, found among the Orokaiva. Instead we found the pattern I called a chain.

The problem which a circuit-like structure attempts to solve is that of establishing or maintaining amity and solidarity between two parties (A and B) who are not linked by bonds of any special intimacy. The procedure followed is that A and B use one or more persons to mediate between them. In the simplest case, where A and B are separated by only one link in the chain, they share the same intimate associate who can act as mediator. If they do not share an intimate, i.e. if they are separated by two or more links in the chain, an accommodation may be reached through a series of mediators who act vicariously on behalf of the principal parties. The arrangement, in its simplest form, is shown in Model 20 which may, of course, be extended indefinitely by inserting intermediate exchange cycles. In practice, this model would be utilised rarely between neighbours living only two houses away from each other. It is, however, a pervasive pattern of Orokaiva social life. It is regularly employed in the making of requests by someone who is not an intimate. A refusal always offends. But if a request is made through a mediator both sides may pretend it has never been made. At least, no hard words are spoken. There is a customary blank, expressionless style which is used for the transmitting of requests – symbolic gestures of neutrality. The mediator avoids all risks of endangering his own alliances while still making what effort he can to satisfy the party seeking the benefit. If the mediator's intervention is successful, this undoubtedly increases his standing and creates an obligation on the part of the beneficiary.

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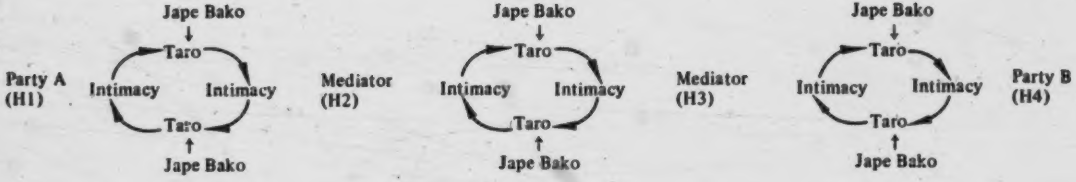
MODEL 20


Party A (H1)
Jape Bako
Taro
Intimacy
Intimacy
Taro
Jape Bako
Mediator (H2)
Jape Bako
Taro
Intimacy
Intimacy
Taro
Jape Bako
Mediator (H3)
Jape Bako
Taro
Intimacy
Intimacy
Taro
Jape Bako
Party B (H4)

628 In dealings between different villages, the use of a chain of mediators is extremely common. A will approach a fellow-villager B, who has connections in the other village; B will go to the other village and see C, his closest contact. C will then most likely go to D, one of the intimates of the person E with whom A desires to deal, and D will look for E. During the ensuing conversation, A and E will say very little, and it is the intermediaries who do most of the talking.

824 The intimate associate, often a neighbour, is thus extremely valuable, as he
431 opens up a vista of alliances to which his partner has no easy access. A man's
effective social network is therefore much wider than any network he could
621 personally maintain by direct exchanges. Most of his effective alliances are
571 vicarious and can be reached only through intermediaries.

The social network maintained by a sizeable circuit is therefore very considerable. It is greater than any solidarity group the Orokaiva could build up by maintaining their patrilineage bonds or by exclusively exploiting any other principle of kin group solidarity. The significance of gifts of cooked taro is that they maintain the intimate bonds needed to retain vicarious access to this network. Cooked taro mediates not only the exchange of intimate attachment, but also the exchange access to *alter's* private network of alliances.

If a village formed a perfect cluster, this kind of exchange could not happen, as all members share exclusively each other's most intimate alliances. Where a circuit structure prevails, a man's partner always has an intimate relationship he does not share, so that the man is dependent on his partner for access to that partner's distinctive exchange network. A society whose solidarity depends heavily on direct immediate exchange may have a rather wide network of alliances as long as it has strong institutional patterns of mediation. The importance of these patterns in Orokaiva society cannot, of course, be gauged by reference to taro exchanges alone, but it is now possible to inquire to what extent the model I have constructed on the basis of taro exchange applies in other areas of Orokaiva culture.

Clearly this model, if transposed to the level of marriage exchange, would include elements of both direct and generalised exchange. The cluster resembles direct exchange: the maintenance of relationships within the system depends entirely on benefits received from all households included in the system. On the other hand the chain has the circular form characteristic of generalised exchange. It includes households who receive no direct benefits from one another except the vicarious one of joint membership in the system. In some respects the chain, of course, differs fundamentally from a system of generalised exchange: the taro travels in both directions around the circle. But I have emphasised that taro is not strictly an object of exchange but of mediation. If there is a need to establish intimate social exchange between remote members of a chain, this will not be, as a general rule, for the exchange of identical benefits. Thus the benefits travelling in each direction along the chain may differ and may not belong to the same sphere of exchange.

While relationships within a cluster are very intimate, those within a large chain may require delicate diplomacy. Yet a chain does not, in my experience, contain members who are actively hostile to one another. The exchange of cooked taro has to to with the maintenance of friendly relations, and collapses if serious conflict arises. The management of serious conflict requires different

objects of mediation, such as pig meat, which will be discussed in the next chapter. 824
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REFERENCES

1 The propagation of the taro plant (*colocasia esculenta*) is illustrated in Fig. 7. 000

2 Waddell's survey excluded gifts to household members. This may explain informants' initial hesitance in mentioning them.

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The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December, the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

[773]

This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

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The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. The meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

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The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a 621
twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore 574
specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of
friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are 431
re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the 276
removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the 562
feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the 574
form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to
come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build 628
the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern [431]
houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of
ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of [345]
modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the
Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams
1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual [776]
task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of [787]
sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men
participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For [535]
these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though
informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at [534]
Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated
(as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is [533]
also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast
chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in
forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects
necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes,
ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was
addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to
draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night,
people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial
clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a 574
psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little
agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that 776
virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are 292
to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon
to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse
their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial
dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually
makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is [825]
a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an
embahi – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show [881]
fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation,
indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the
everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may
at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The [533]
curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after 796
the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 574
'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated 782
from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the [825]
sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their
siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of [784]
the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I [842]
was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins.
These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. [602]
The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one 574
village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups 614
comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did
not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in 621 ●
four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the [628]
hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective 574
and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each 628
family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have
never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always 437
making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must,
above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the [789]
collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase [789]
of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed
that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus [244]
stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something ike imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a 574
orporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A 621

[789]

574 crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted
621 upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile
villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The
[789] sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an
[754] unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It
might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that caused the hostility.

574 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to
set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest
628 communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other
437 closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some
572 significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of
individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends. A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions, sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

7. *A Model of Pig Sacrifice*

574 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25,[A] that model does
628 not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of
the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *ivo* from the
778 feast. The guest gains *ivo* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to
members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The host gains *ivo* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of *ivo*.

[A] [See Category 574, p. 148—Analyst]

611 men showed loyalty to their affines rather than their clansmen. He also noted a
614 widespread tendency for individuals to identify with the maternal rather than the
paternal clan. Evidence on land tenure, presented by Crocombe, Hogbin and
[429] Rimboldi, provides an impressive list of exceptions to the supposed rule of
patrilineal inheritance and points, in addition, to the feebleness of links between
the local groups making up a dispersed clan.

At the time of Williams' study, most Orokaiva villages were composed of a
614 single clan and comprised little more than six households. The Australian
621 authorities used a good deal of pressure to make the Orokaiva consolidate their
361 hamlets into larger villages which could be more easily patrolled, but by 1951
Belshaw reported that most Orokaiva still lived in hamlets. In 1966 I found a
177 good number of one-clan villages, with populations of around fifty, but the
majority of the people were concentrated in larger settlements in which at least
two local clan groups were residing together.

The local clan group was traditionally the smallest viable military unit, whose duty it was to defend the hamlet territory against outsiders. It had its own military leader, feasting leader, technical and magical experts. In the modern multi-clan village, the corporate scope of the local clan group has declined, as its functions have been taken over by the village. Village feasts, village boundaries, village leadership tend to take the place of the earlier local clan group institutions. Due to these changes, the unity of the local clan group has become more difficult to establish and maintain.

614 Crocombe, Hogbin and Rimoldi have provided full data showing that local
clan groups are often divided into a number of exclusive segments they call
613 'lineages', which are characterised by putative common patrilineal descent from
an ancestor who could often not be named. It is certainly true that we find
important units intermediate between the extended family and the local clan
group. First, it is possible to list four names of such major units within the
Jegase local clan group and the same number within Seho. But the term 'lineage'
might be deceptive unless we define it more closely.

614 If we look at the clan segments in Sivepe (it will soon be clear why I prefer
not to call them 'lineages'), their real distinctive feature is that they either came
613 to Sivepe as migrants from the same village or as members of the same clan.
166 There is no evidence whatever that, in their village of origin, they would
necessarily have been regarded as close kin. Their feeling of being closely related
arose only subsequent to migration. The study of Orokaiva migrant groups, even
comprising just a few families, easily reveals that they tend to consist of one core
family to which others will rally, not because they are related by kinship but
because they want to leave, are good friends of the migrating family and, most
probably, have some kin or friendship links in the village where the group
intends to settle. It is only after arrival there that they may, for ideological and
political reasons, create the fiction of being close patrikin. A number of such
groups fuse with earlier arrivals into larger units bearing a clan name adopted by
all. Hence, for most purposes these smaller units are best described as 'clan
segments', though it may be useful to refer to them as lineages when discussing
informants' statements concerning the patrilineal ideology by which such
groupings are held together.

TABLE X/1

VILLAGE POPULATIONS AND CLAN ORGANISATION

Number of villages investigated: 15

621
614
361

Name	*Population*				
(*a*) *One-Clan Villages:*					
Ajoro	50	Tandai'undi			
Inonda	42	Andiriha			
Irihambo	30	Oripa			
Sombou	70	Pangaripa			
Kakita	24	Hatopa			
(*b*) *Two-Clan Villages:*					
Binduta	100	Jegase	Usohu		
Garombi	132	Sorovi	Betu		
Hamburata	91	Ehirari	Ohuru		
Kongohambo	96	Pugege	Ameti		
Sivepe	137	Jegase	Seho		
Torogota	65	Jeipa	Jaumbi		
(*c*) *Four-Clan Villages*		ve/ih	ih/av	av/so	so/ve[1]
Hohorita	348	Oripa	Besupa	Sehopa	Horeppa
Sasembata	162	Garoha	Pekuma	Ato	Takone[2]
Soroputa	200	Seraopa	Jaja	Java	Timumu
(*d*) *Multi-Clan Villages*					
Kiorota	429			12 clans[3]	

Notes

[1] ve/ih etc. are made up of abridgements of the Orokaiva terms *veari, ihane, avunu, sose*. for which see Chapter X, 5.

[2] No marriages between Seraopa and Jaja are permissible today, but both clans marry preferentially into the Hamburata clans. [582]

[3] This village was settled in 1958 by refugees from the Mount Lamington eruption who previously occupied a number of smaller villages, according to the following pattern: [166]

Homumuta	1 Haripa	2 Penonupa	
Isivita	3 Jegase	4 Berekipa	
Bosisepa	3 Jegase	4 Berekipa	11 Seraopa
Tambore	5 Oetopa	6 Ahungata	
Taremuturu	5 Oetopa	7 Pusaripa	
Pinda	8 Isivupa	9 Juvaripa	
Kandata	10 Jepuripa		
?	12 Omborapa		

583 Forms of dual organisation between pairs of reciprocating groups have always
been of limited scope as the groups tended to reside apart from each other, and
528 each group tended to have marriage exchange relations with several other groups
616 at the same time. Even the short genealogies of Sivepe show evidence that the
families of this village have been participating in no less than twenty-five
reciprocating pairs of groups, the exchange sometimes consisting of no more
[177] than one recorded exchange of women between two villages. Interestingly
enough, it was Australian pressure towards village consolidation that emphasised
[361] the tendency to dual organisation.

First of all, co-residence tends to increase the number of marriages between
361 local clan groups which are thus thrown together. Usually, such local clan groups
178 are already reciprocating pairs, but when co-residence is established, they begin
to reciprocate at a greater rate. For instance, the Seho and Jegase local clan
614 groups in Sivepe, comprising together sixteen households, are linked by seven
583 current Seho-Jegase marriages. This was sufficient to define the seven Seho
households and the nine Jegase households as standing in an affinal relation to
one another.

614 In such a village the other households tend to be classified as adhering to one
621 of the two dominant local clan groups. A few years before I came to Sivepe,
Rimoldi and Waddel had both visited the village and recorded the presence of a
166 third local clan group, called Timumu. On my arrival I found that this group,
616 consisting of three households, had adopted the Jegase clan name, thus
establishing a tidy dualist pattern between one group defined as agnates and a second group defined as affines. A few months before I settled in Sivepe, six households migrated there from Garombi. All the men were members of the Sorovi clan, though of different lineages. A year after they migrated, five of the householders were classified as part of the Jegase clan (by the use of sibling terms of address) while the sixth was classified as part of the Seho clan.

621 I found a similar pattern in eleven other multi-clan villages I visited. When I
first inquired, I was mostly told that they were two-clan villages, the names of
614 the clans being given in each case. Two of the villages were said to have four
616 clans, two pairs of two. Whenever I sought detailed data, I found male
householders belonging to additional clans. In Hohorita I was told that the front half was inhabited by two clans, and the back half by two further clans. In fact twelve clans were represented; when this came to light, my informants explained to me that the clan names I had been given at first were those of the 'main' clans. There seemed to be a strong ideological notion that a multi-clan village (or
[582] village section) should consist of two local clan groups. Furthermore, this
arrangement affects the marriage rules: once Timumu became joined with Jegase under the same clan name, marriages between the two fused local clan, groups became prohibited.

5. *Complementary Opposition in Village Topography*

If the reduction of multi-clan to two-clan villages had occurred only in Sivepe and a few other villages, it could easily be explained solely by processes of clan fusion which are prevalent throughout the area and which will be discussed further below. But I found it to be a regular feature of the

consolidated Orokaiva villages I visited. Yet historical evidence of earlier 621
settlements precludes the supposition that co-residence of reciprocating marriage 614
groups was ever a regular practice or a preferential rule. Such co-residence can be
explained only by Australian pressure towards village consolidation. Far from 616
being congenial to the Orokavia, it may better be regarded as a major potential cause [583]
of strain. When the Australian administration planned to intensify this [177]
consolidation policy after the Mount Lamington eruption in 1951, Belshaw
rightly warned the authorities in a published paper (1951) that the enforced [578]
co-residence of affines would create serious social strains which might impede
the administration's social development objectives. The Orokaiva response to these social strains appears to have been to restructure the multi-clan villages and give them an organisational form they are more easily able to handle. Under this arrangement agnates, uterine kin and affines live together in the same village but are sorted into two groups of real or fictional agnates. These two groups have affinal relations with one another and stand in complementary opposition in social and political affairs.

In some villages this complementary opposition is further expressed in the 361
position of the two groups in village topography. Nearly all Orokaiva villages are 616
built in two facing rows separated by a fairly wide grassed area known as the *araha*. For cosmological reasons that do not concern us here, these rows tend to run in the direction of the top of Mount Lamington – from downhill (*veari*) to uphill (*avunu*). The two rows are known as *mende* or *bende*, a word which may mean 'nose' or 'hillock' or 'side of a village'. The two sides are designated as *ihane* and *sose*, *ihane* being to the right of a person facing the mountain, *sose* on the left. In 1965, when Sivepe was rebuilt on a new site, all Seho men built their houses on the *ihane* side while all Jegase men built on the *sose* side.

Outwardly, the topography of this new Sivepe does not differ significantly 361
from the earliest descriptions we have of Orokaiva villages in the early 616
post-contact period. These villages also had two sides. They had the same short 621
connecting lines of houses at the *avunu* and *veari* ends of the village. Williams
reports that these connecting lines prevent spirits from coming into the *araha*. The only differences are in size and in the style of the houses. The basic innovation in New Sivepe lies in the arrangement of social groups on the village site. Real or assumed agnatic links now exist between all the householders on each side, whereas affinal relations exist between all the householders of one side and the other. The door openings of the affines face each other, but they are separated by the wide field of the *araha*. When people sit down to smoke and chew betelnut in front of their houses, there is easy movement between residents who live on the same side. They frequently visit each other's fires without any ceremony. But one does not cross the *araha* to sit on the other side without a serious purpose. One watches what happens on the other side; one does not always hear it. There is frequent and friendly contact between the sides but it is clear to the observer that the physical distance between them symbolises an equally real social distance.

This residential arrangement between affines is not traditional. If affines 361
happened to live in a traditional hamlet there were no formal patterns for 616
keeping them at a physical distance. When multi-clan villages were first 614
established, households of the various clans were placed next to each other in a 621
[178]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

361
102
614
133
487

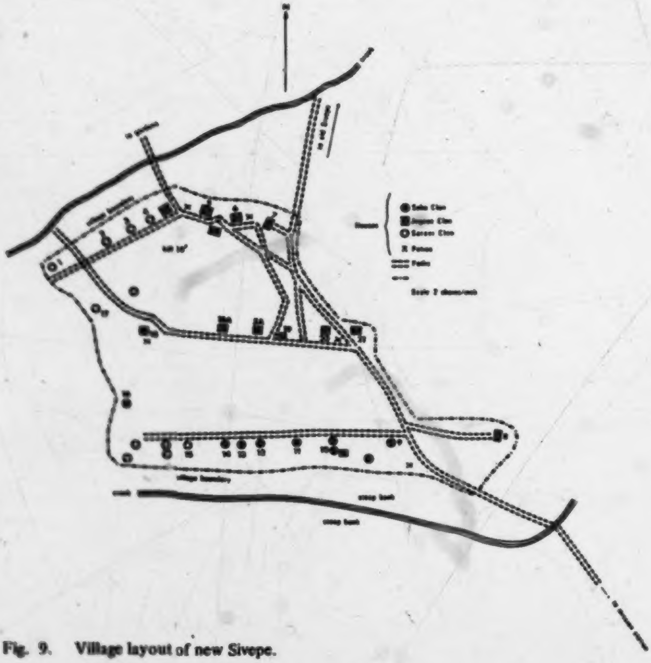

Fig. 9. Village layout of new Sivepe.

361 rather irregular pattern. Village plans of Sivepe drawn by Rimoldi and Waddell in
616 1963 and 1964 show no formal separation between the clans. Some neighbour-
614 ing villages, such as Garombi, however, did allocate one side to each of their two
621 clans. The fact that Sivepe introduced this pattern in 1965 has no particular explanation except that it appealed to the Seho clan leader who supplied the land for the village site. One might describe his innovation as an idiosyncrasy or a fashion but at the same time it is significant that the pattern of residence he introduced resembles that familiar to anthropologists in the many parts of the world where exogamous moieties are found.

583 I have now shown most of the evidence for direct marriage exchange and
616 forms of dual organisation. The question that remains to be answered is why this
121 system was so fitfully practised. Are the discrepant cases to be explained merely by organisational factors such as lack of choice, the vicissitudes of war, the need for alliances? Or are there present in the culture a further set of rules related to marriage which we have not yet considered and which are irreconcilable with the principle of direct marriage exchange?

After 1958 most of the coffee produced by indigenous 245
growers in the Northern District came from plots which were 423
planted by individuals (largely as a result of agricultural extension
services) and registered under the Higaturu Local
Government Council land registration scheme. The communal
project was formally abandoned in 1960 with the repeal of the
Native Plantations Ordinance.(1) Crown lands reverted to the
Crown and native lands to their owners. The Government has
treated the Crown lands as reserves for the local people and
has not taken any action to restrict their use as communal plantations.
Today, however, only 9 of the 16 pre-war plantations 433
which we visited are producing at all, and they at only a fraction
of their potential output.

We traced the history of the Ongoho community block 578
in detail in a series of separate interviews at each of the [124]
villages which had participated in the project.(2) The collapse
of the project there was caused by disagreement over land
rights, apportionment of work and distribution of income. The [614]
disputing parties were the various sub-clans which had participated
in the project. The sub-clans may be roughly equated
with villages.(3)

Before the war, strict control by the Administration 657
precluded the emergence of these particular problems: the land 245
had been demarcated and the trees planted under close supervision,
fixed patterns of work were imposed, and the money was
paid to each man by a government official. By the late 1940's
however, the sanctions for failure to work were not in fact being
exercised, and attendance was irregular. The Ongoho "coffee 245
boss" who had been responsible for local supervision from
about 1945 found the dissension too much to control and resigned
in 1948. Little work was being done and the govern-

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(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Repeal Ordinance 1960.

(2) This was necessary because the issue is still very contentious and feelings about the disputes over the community gardens are still strong.

(3) In fact each village is regarded as being that of a particular sub-clan, despite the existence of smaller enclaves of other sub-clans in most of them. Marriage is usually (but not exclusively) between sub-clans and almost invariably within the Asigi tribal group. [621] [582]

Community rice and cocoa projects

797 In 1948, the Christian Co-operative Movement was
formed by Father Clint of the Anglican Mission at Gona. The
movement spread spontaneously throughout the Orokaiva
country, though most of the co-operatives were only nominally
474 linked to the mission.(1) The main activity of the co-operatives
[241] was the growing of rice, but some grew subsistence foods also,
and others made copra. Although the movement was referred
[258] to as a co-operative, its agricultural activities were in most
cases communal: all participants were supposed to work at the
same time and to undertake whatever work was allotted to them
by the group leaders, and the benefits derived were to have been
shared equally. Moreover, at least some villages required all
resident adult males to participate in the scheme.

621 In most instances the village worked as the unit of
production, but in some cases several neighbouring villages
[243] worked together. Some large villages were divided into one or
more groups for the purpose of the community rice garden.
Each group had a committee of management and a chairman.

461 In general Monday and Tuesday of each week were set
aside for work on the community gardens. Official patrol reports
794 noted that the movement had taken on many aspects of a
cult. All stages of work were associated with an unusual
amount of religious activity and the tools and buildings of the
co-operatives were treated with great veneration. Keesing
(1952 : 7) speaks of an "absorbing mystical context" and of
rumours that Europeans would leave Papua as a result of the
co-operatives. An official observer stated that the people
considered "mere participation in the co-operatives would,
magically or mystically, quickly raise their status in all respects
797 to that of Europeans". Orokaiva people have pointed
461 out to us that cash cropping projects initiated by the government
had invariably failed. They felt that a mission project
might be more successful. Moreover, whereas they were uncertain
of the government's motives they felt the mission to be
"on the side of the people", for by introducing them to co-

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(1) The co-operative movement in this area is described in more detail in Dakeyne, 1963.

101 tribe, which included Sivepe. It occupied the volcanic slopes
[133] under fairly uniform and distinctive ecological conditions. The
mountain Orokaiva now include roughly the 8,000 people in the
[162] closely-settled Saiho Census Division areas, that is, the people
who have been called 'Wasida' or 'Periho'. They also include the
members of the few adjacent villages who are the only 'Sangara'
people surviving the 1951 eruption of the volcano.

62 Belshaw (1951:2) reported that among the mountain Orokaiva
until 1951 'the residential group...consisted of a number of
[361] separated hamlets.... Hamlets grouped themselves together under
a common name, such as Wasita 1, Isivita 1, Isivita 2 etc....
Each hamlet group, or "village" in administrative parlance, was
separated geographically from its neighbouring hamlet group'.
The two 'villages', Isivita 1 and 2, had comprised 19 named
'hamlets' and represented the Isivita 'native district' which,
Plant[1] (1951: Appendix 4) says was joined with the Sasembata
(8 hamlets), Koropata, Wasita, Awala, Soroputa, Sairopi, Mumuni
and Wairopi districts[2] to form the Periho tribe. This 'closely
approximates to' what Williams called the Wasida tribe.

[162] Shortly before the eruption of Mt Lamington in 1951, Sivepe, Binduta, Mahihita, Pusahambo, Korinasusu and Heherita[3] were grouped under the name of Awala 2 and had a total population of 250,[4] compared with the range of 150 to 400 which Belshaw (1951:2) attributes to 'hamlet groups' in the area. There is a radical difference in size between the small hamlet described by Belshaw and the characteristic nucleated village of post-eruption years (excluding interim evacuation 'camps'). Nevertheless, we hereafter refer to both as a 'village' when not quoting. This does not

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[1] Plant uses the term 'village group' for Belshaw's 'hamlet group' or 'village'. Williams (1930:131) refers to Belshaw's 'hamlet' sometimes as a 'village' and sometimes as a 'village group'.

[2] He earlier (1951:3) omitted Mumuni and Wairopi - see p.31. On Map 1 see Hururuta for Mumuni District, and Ombisusu-Ajeka area for Wairopi District; the Sairopi people are about 4 miles south of the Mumuni.

[3] The last 3 'hamlets' were not re-formed after the eruption; another which was established about this time took the name Awala No.2.

[4] In a sample of 50 nearby hamlets in other groups in the Saiho Census Division the average hamlet size was 36 persons as against 41 in this group. Note also that in 1923 the Awala hamlets (including those in Awala 1) may have numbered 15 (Williams:W.83).

621 361 [162] [632] obscure any important differences in structure and our historical data are not complete enough to permit of consistent distinctions, according to size, between 'hamlets' and 'villages'. The village of Sivepe now has a population of 120 and is linked with Binduta, several hundred yards away, and with Nahihita half a mile away, to form a unit in Administration censuses. The 3 villages, together with Awala No.2,[1] form a local government council electorate.

131 491 [133] Sivepe is situated on the western bank of the Sohu River, a tributary of the Kumusi River, about 25 miles by road south-west of Popondetta and roughly 7 miles north-west of the crater of Mt Lamington. It is on a jeep road leading from Kendata, high on the Mt Lamington slopes, to Awala, which lies 3½ miles north of Sivepe on the Kokoda-Popondetta road. The minor road was constructed in about 1944 following the route of an old track. Between Awala and Sivepe it is marked by the sites of 9 abandoned villages, first visible indication of the history of close settlement on the country it traverses.

797 871 There were very few facilities for formal education in this tribal area until shortly after the second world war when a number of mission schools, staffed by Papuan teachers, were established through the area and 'minor elementary education was brought to over 90% of children of a varied age range' (Belshaw 1951:2).

An Anglican Mission primary school was established at Sasembata, 1 mile south of Sivepe, in 1945 and a European teacher has been on the staff since 1951; 9 of the 13 children of approximately school age in the group we studied now attend.[2] Some children from Sivepe are pupils at Martyrs' Anglican Mission school several miles away at Agenahambo. A primary T school[3] was established at Awala in 1961 but no Sivepe children are pupils there.

Several villagers regularly attend the church at Sasembata, which is in the charge of a Papuan priest, and most make periodic use of the medical services provided by the mission sister. Some women consult an infant welfare clinic formerly available at the mission on alternate Tuesdays and some have joined a women's sewing class held on Wednesdays.

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[1] To be distinguished from Awala 2, the 'hamlet group'.

[2] The ages of pupils in the 4 grades would range roughly from 5 to 15 years.

[3] A government school for Papuans at which the curriculum is adjusted to the needs or sophistication of the local pupils - as distinct from primary A schools, attended almost wholly by European children, where the syllabus is set by the N.S.W. Department of Education.

619 721 634 have numbered several thousand at least (nor did they have a 'distinct dialect and a uniformity of custom' that might indicate that they by themselves constituted a tribe).

851 611 614 Every Orokaiva person is recruited by birth to the clan of his father. All members of this descent unit claim but cannot trace[1] common patrilineal descent from a usually eponymous ancestor; they do not always share the same plant emblem (erahu)[2] commonly held by patrilineal groups. A large number of clans are included among the mountain Orokaiva; clan membership does not often overlap with tribal membership (though see Williams 1928:406; 1930:154). It is very rare for the clan to act as a political unit, whatever its functions in the past. Williams (1930:102-8) has in mind a different kind of unit (a small, usually localized group 'united by feelings of actual kinship', scarcely more distant than nuclear family relationships) when he says the clan was 'co-operative... in respect to ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting'.

● [621] There are several clans represented in the great majority of the present villages and fragments of the same clans - what we call clan branches[3] - will be found scattered among similar composite villages, often a considerable distance away.

Clans are not linked to form a wider descent group. Some members of 2 or more distinct named clans, whose ancestors were all at one time known by the one clan name, sometimes profess closer ties to one another for this reason. Jegase clan, for instance, is said to have formerly included groups which have become independent clans.

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[1] This disagrees with Williams' description (1930:108) which shows no clear distinction between the clan and lineage (see Royal Anthropological Institute 1960:88-90).

[2] Data from Awala and Wasida villages (see Williams O.83; and Appendix D) differs from the information from Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:16).

[3] Note that Williams (1925:410 and 420) uses either the term 'local clan branch' or 'subclan' to denote 'an incipient clan' which has moved away from the parent group but retains either the original clan name while acquiring a new plant emblem or the original plant emblem while assuming a new clan name. Elsewhere (1928:125) he describes how some clans occupy several villages or parts of villages. Some 'branches' or 'sections' may have adopted a distinctive name or taken possession of the subdivision of former clan land they occupy, while others may not yet have taken either step (ibid.).

614 Although it is said that members of these clans were allies in the past and today their local branches in the one neighbourhood intermarry, their relationsip to one another in regard to land is not directly determined by the recognition of the historical tie between them.[1] Plant (1951: Appendix 2) suggests that another informal link exists between clans whose founders are said to have been allies or associates.

The typical dispersed clan among the mountain Orokaiva now appears to be only a social category. Its members still acknowledge common descent from a single ancestor and have inherited the same name, but this gives them no special access to each others' land. Men have only a superficial acquaintance with the land of other branches of their clan. Nor does the clan seem to function as a group in any other sphere of activity.[2]

178 614 [574] [602] In the past the scattering of clan fragments in distant villages probably served an important function in facilitating travel, but clanship has been almost wholly replaced in this capacity because a traveller now can usually receive hospitality from various kinsmen, often closely related, who are widely dispersed, for one or another reason associated with social and economic change in the area.

614 [731] [621] We have no details concerning either the present number and size of clans among the mountain Orokaiva or the extent of their fragmentation. There is no doubt that the growth of more nucleated villages since the 1951 eruption of Mt Lamington (see Secs b. and e. of this chapter) is a significant uncontrolled variable in any inference from a situation preceding the eruption. Nevertheless, we think that a reasonable indication of the present pattern of

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[1] Plant (1951:3 and Appendix 2), however, is in complete agreement with Williams (1928:126 ff.) and says that 'ownership of land is vested in the clan'; although this ownership is nominal and in practice each branch of the clan regards the land it uses as its own, people from one village agree that their clansmen elsewhere have 'every right to come and settle at their village and that land would be made available to them' and similar rights would be conceded by members of a 'parent clan' to one of its branches which has assumed a new clan name.

[2] Further information now being collected at Sivepe by the New Guinea Research Unit will show whether or not this statement holds for economic activities in general; cf. these clans with the Star Mountains patriclan (J. Pouwer in Watson, ed., 1964:136) which can 'best be characterised as a name group, since the clan name passes from father to son', and 'is neither exogamous nor corporate with respect to political, social, religious or legal matters'.

614 clan distribution can be obtained from the following summary of diverse information from the mountain Orokaiva and the Aiga.

621 The people grouped under the names Isivita 1 and 2 and Sasembata 1 and 2 numbered more than 1,600 in 1948 and occupied
614 44 villages. By the time of the eruption in 1951 the number of villages had been reduced to 27 (see Plant 1951: Appendix 3) and 40 clans had branches in one or more of them - there were at least 17 clan branches in villages other than these, representing 6 of the 40 clans. Eleven of the Isivita and Sasembata villages consisted only of members of 1 clan, although only 3 of these villages constituted a whole clan.

Williams (1928:124; 1930:101) suggests that a periodic increase in the 'multiplicity of small clans', caused by subdivision, is only 'in part neutralized by the dying out of older clans'. He says that there is a marked consistency in clan organization throughout the Orokaiva area (1925:406)[1] and in 1923 the generalization that 'local and lineal groups seem to be largely coincident'
[648] was true of the Jegasi-Sarahu, i.e., the Wasida group of villages (W.10, 31). In this context he adds that this pattern was altered
[177] somewhat by the dispersal caused by a special factor: an attack by the first government patrol on Wasida and neighbouring villages. He does not record the relevant clan branches present in local groups other than the 15 Jegasi-Sarahu villages of the tribe, but 5 of the 7 clans listed are seen to be represented in more than one village. However, only 2 of the 15 villages contained 2 clan
[361] branches. The average village consisted of 6 houses (normally nuclear families) and a single-boys' house (W.1), perhaps 25 people in all.

Data collected in 1924 among the Aiga show that there were 37 clans among the 50 villages of the tribe, with an average of about 35 members, or perhaps 'a dozen families', in each clan (Williams 1930:7, 101; 1925:418). Williams says that the 'normal', 'typical' or 'original' residential group was the 'clan-village' - clan and village were coextensive (1925:407; 1928:124; 1930:103, 310; and 107, 131) - but notes that in the larger villages there were 'often two clans or more' (1925:407). In fact, 12 of the 24 clans listed in 36 of the Aiga villages had 2 or more branches there (O.19, 20). Yet Williams might then have argued that in such instances fission would soon be completed and 'the normal conditions restored, viz. the clan locally unified and in

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[1] Cf. Reay 1953:110: Williams' information on the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes reveals 'a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people'; see also Williams 1930:7.

621 possession of its own tracts of land' (1928:125). In view of the uncertainties regarding attributes which, we have noted, Williams 614 associates with the 'clan', we can not readily say whether our discussion in the following sections confirms or contradicts this statement on land tenure.

614 Fighting within the tribe (emboge), though frequent,[1] was governed by restrictive conventions absent from the conduct of 578 deliberate raids (isoro). Organized aggression was rare and the [721] deliberate destruction and homicide characteristic of the tribal raid were absent from the skirmishes which arose periodically in the course of ordinary interclan relationships. Disagreement over rights to land in the neighbourhood was one of a number of causes of interclan hostilities (see Williams 1930:107, 163). But we found no evidence from the area discussed in this report to indicate that land disputes between members of different clans [721] involved the mobilization of their descent groups. Informants firmly denied that people would resort to attacking neighbours from another clan in order to acquire land.

In presenting a picture of continuous feuding between local [728] kin groups within the tribe, Keesing (1951:6) quotes Williams out of context: Williams (1930:311; and 160-7) was referring to the ineffectiveness of intertribal truces not to instability of peaceful relationships between these smaller groups when he says that no village lived in permanent security for fear of raids from its neighbours. The tribe lacked close political cohesion but relations between local groups within it do not seem to have been as precarious as Keesing describes. As Plant (1951: Appendix 3) indicates, a network of affiliations between descent groups in widely scattered areas formerly ensured generaly peaceful relations within the tribe.

The frequency with which fragments of one clan are found 614 scattered in 3 or more districts of the tribe suggests that here 701 Langness' discussion of the Highlands (Watson, ed. 1964:174) may be relevant when he points to the probability of a causal connec- [182] tion between continuous violent warfare and the weakly patrilineal structure of groups,[2] in view of the fact that most warring groups needed continually to replace losses in numerical strength by recruiting outsiders; they would repeatedly scatter, regroup, take refuge or attach themselves permanently to stronger groups for

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[1] In fact, Williams (W.37) records that members of Jegase clan once fought some of the Sarahu, even though the names of the 2 clans were linked as the name of the political unit which he defined (see p.34).

[2] See sections c-f of this chapter.

614 safety. Plant for instance (1951:3) notes that the Isivita
701 villages, strategically situated on a ridge, would occasionally
give refuge to fellow tribesmen though not every district would
usually have recourse to join the Isivita.

619 Williams ascribes the formation of 'somewhat loose' and
temporary 'confederacies of clans', which conducted raids upon
[614] the tribe's kitoho, to a local spirit. But it is not clear
whether by this he means the identification of members of a tribe
[701] with one territory or the unity of the 'locality group' which
usually takes in a number of 'clan-village units' (see p.34) and
which he describes as a more restricted 'sympathy-group' than the
tribe (1930:107, 157, 163, 309-12). When he states (1925:407)
that 'over and above clan patriarchs there are recognised leaders
of small clan confederacies and even - in war-time - of tribes ,
he seems to equate the tribe with the district among the mountain
Orokaiva (in particular Wasida and Isivita; see W.23, 124).[1]

[634] However, neither the district nor any other local grouping among the mountain Orokaiva was an independent political unit. The territory of this tribe was not so compact as to call for (or even to enable) all its constituent local groups to give continuous mutual support in protecting the integrity of the area they occupied. Nevertheless members of discrete local groups continually formed ad hoc alliances across district boundaries. It is clear that the regular chains of alliances encompassed a wider area than usually described as the tribe (whether Jegasi-Sarahu, Wasida or Periho).

721 The usual stratagem of the isoro was the surprise attack on 1 or 2 selected villages. In these circumstances the victims were able to summon only immediate neighbours to help ward off the attackers and proximity was at least one of the common principles by which specific villages combined in retaliatory raids.

● 621 An indication that within this tribe the named local groups of
villages were territorially distinct units is Belshaw's statement
361 that the population was divided into 'hamlet groups' like Awala 2,

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[721] [1] There is some doubt whether the evidence in these cases shows that there was even a military leadership in the district (and war is said to have been almost perpetual). The title of the former leader of Isivita (who had not been replaced) is given as embo javoari and the literal meaning is given (1930:104) as 'the man who gives the name' (cf. embo jawo vahai, Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), i.e., the deceased eponymous ancestor of one clan. The last renowned war-leader among the Wasida may have been the embo peni (javo), lit. man-big (-name), of a group no larger than a village or clan (see 1925:417; W.23).

621 361 [712] each separated geographically from its neighbours.[1] There is also Williams' point (W.28) that in 1923 there was unclaimed land adjoining the 'hamlets' in the unit named Wasida (i.e., Jegasi-Sarahu). Like most other districts this consisted of two 'hamlet groups'. Norton (1962:6) says that sometimes villages, which 'are known to have been quite large' and stockaded (cf. Williams 1930:67, 164-6), were separated by tracts of unclaimed virgin land until the time of the suppression of feuding.

[701] [184] This combination for better defence may have been characteristic of tribes throughout the Orokaiva area. We believe, however, that the subdividing of the tribe into discrete named groups of named villages (either district or 'hamlet group') would be unique to the mountain Orokaiva in the culture area; we do not have enough evidence to show if this feature is related to the earlier clustering for safety, and to the greater population density in this tribe.

The emergence of tribal subdivisions at this level, however limited or occasional their independence, seems consistent with the uncertainties encountered by observers in seeking to determine the limits, the local name and the distinctive cultural and linguistic characteristics of the inclusive political unit.[2]

613 [128] At this point we shall identify the local patrilineal groups to be mentioned in the following resumé of the history of local settlement and then make a preliminary comment on landholding by individuals.

The members of Jegase clan in Sivepe are divided among 4 named subgroups, each claiming to trace its origins to either of 2 contiguous villages occupied by all the ancestors of the Jegase in the neighbourhood. We shall call these subgroups lineages; they are Bebehupa,[3] Sesewopa, Berekipa and Arehu. A fifth lineage called Hambai or Hambai'embo has died out only in the present generation, yet all but the key members of the group and a little

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[1] Seldom does the territory of a 'district' at present clearly appear distinct from others, and that of a 'hamlet group' even more rarely.

[128] [2] Either 'parish' or 'subtribe' could be considered as a term for such a unit within the tribe. But rather than add to the confusion of terms used in descriptions of local organization we retain the terms which we have already adopted.

[197] [3] The suffix -pa (or -ja, female) should strictly be used in addressing or referring to an individual member, but it now seems to be common local usage to refer to a group itself in this way, and we shall follow this usage.

613 general information is already beyond the immediate recall of the surviving Jegase men.

The Sivepe people who belong to Timumu, the second clan represented in our sample, are members of 2 lineages, Pekuma and Hajejopa. Other than clanship the two can reckon no link originating in the 'district' from which both emigrated independently to the neighbourhood of Sivepe; their closely parallel histories of migration, subsequent residence and marriage account for the present firm connection between them.

The largest exogamous groups are lineages, but this rule readily lapses when a lineage achieves a much wider span than average, especially if it becomes scattered for any length of time or in more than one 'hamlet group'.

621 All land around Sivepe and neighbouring villages is divided into named areas which we will call 'blocks'. Each is usually a
[103] locality deriving its name from a prominent local natural feature -
often a tree or a grove of trees, hence Korinasusu or Korinaturu.
[128] For any subdivisions of a block we use the term 'section' and we refer to either 'blocks' or 'sections' as 'parcels' of land.[1] No correlation is implied between the type of a parcel and the type of rights held to it.

423 All land constituting territory of the Jegase, Timumu or others in the neighbourhood is divided into parcels which are the holdings
[428] either of individuals or of full brothers. A man's rights and other property are ideally inherited patrilineally. In some circumstances a definitive division of the father's land may be made among his sons before his death. This usually takes place if the sons already have their own households, if the father is no longer very active in village life or if the younger men are
[562] only half-brothers. We know of no instances of a daughter receiving a particular share at the time of such an allocation, but we refer elsewhere to circumstances where women hold land
428 (see Appendix E, p.111).[A] In other cases brothers may jointly hold all the land inherited from their father. This seems to apply particularly to instances where a younger brother is unmarried or has taken temporary employment away from the village

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[823] [1] People commonly use the name of a block to refer to any parcel of land, for instance in listing their landholdings. They draw attention to any specific distribution of sections of 1 block among different people only when the context requires them to. On Map 2, where 1 man holds adjacent blocks or 2 adjoining sections on 2 adjacent blocks, the boundary between them is not shown. Only boundaries between different landholders are indicated.[B]

A,[See Category 428, p. 111--Analyst] B,[See Category 102, p 40--Analyst]

177 in Papua (Territory of Papua 1908-9:19). In 1904, 4 village
464 constables had been appointed from the peoples along the new road.
By 1908 members of the various tribes were peaceably trading with
625 the carriers along the road (Territory of Papua 1907-8:22).

In about 50 years preceding the establishment of their present
166 village the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them
been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14
361 village sites within an area of about 2 square miles adjoining
177 the Sohu River. Informants claimed that they or their ancestors
moved from 11 of these under instructions from government officers
to amalgamate into larger units. During this period members of
several other descent groups have either accompanied them or
established independent villages and worked land of their own in
● [621] the same area. Intermarriage among contemporary villages there
was common and individuals frequently moved from one to join kin
in another.

166 The 4 Jegase lineages can trace the history of their groups
166 back to a point of common origin in the first decade of the
361 century in the village of Simbehata and its 'satellite' Totogata,
both on what is now Jegase land hardly a mile from the present
613 site of Sivepe.[1]

(1) Migration 1900-50: The Bebehupa moved from Simbehata to Korogombata[2] and were joined by some members of Usohu living nearby.[3] Except for 3 families which moved out to form Kisisita, Aurija and Andakahambo villages, they remained there until about 1937 when they were asked by the Administration to reunite with these 3 to establish Korinasusu. One of the 2 major pre-war tracks from the coast to Kokoda lay nearby and when Japanese and Australian troops moved along this in 1942 the people abandoned the village and moved into isolated garden huts. Most villagers returned to Korinasusu after the war but 1 group founded Nahihita nearby.

[657] In 1950 the Administration instructed the Bebehupa of Korinasusu and Nahihita to join the Usohu people living in Gogovosusu and Binduta to form one large village. Up to that time the villages had been confined to Jegase land but because

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[1] For place names mentioned in this section see Map.2. A

[2] Mentioned as a 'Jegase village' by Williams in 1923 (p.[illegible]3), as are Sivepe, Pusahambo and Hanimkumbari (see pp.34-7). He also lists them as Awala villages.

[3] A number of the older Jegase men claimed that the Usohu people formerly regarded themselves as members of Jegase clan.

A, [See Category 102, p. 40--Analyst]

614 361 their previous location[1] and the territory of their traditional enemies, the Divinikovari and Togahau, but informants disagreed as to whether this occurred before or after Europeans had established control of the area.

Timumu clan had also originated well to the south near Sasembata (according to its members at Sivepe) but fairly early in the century part of this clan too occupied land around Soroputa nearer the Togahau. Other members of the clan live at Sasembata, Hamburata and Kakita and possibly other villages.

The ancestors of members of Seho clan in Sivepe are said to have moved to the nearby village of Hanimkambari from an area closer to the source of the Sohu River on Mt Lamington. While at Hanimkambari they clashed with the first government patrols in the area. About 1910 some of the Seho people established another village, Asina, nearer the present site of Sivepe, later moving to join Timumu and Jegase groups at Euru. These old villages have now been abandoned but Seho clan is represented in numerous other villages in the area.

C. Localized descent groups

● 621 Our comments on the clan and village have emphasized that the typical village consists of several groups from different clans. Migrations also have usually been by representatives of particular groups. We now turn to an account of the individual's kinship and affinal relationships within the village. This aspect is best approached with an examination of post-marital residence.

591 (i) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal. But where residence is found to conform to the ideal, any reference to this norm should be supplemented by further data on the links between co-resident kin if we are to give an adequate account of the kinship composition of local groups; moreover, adults have a wide choice of residence. In fact, of the 12 householders in our sample, 5 were not living in their father's village, although 1 of these was living with his adoptive father (his mother's second husband who was a member of her natal village); the other 4 were living only with matrilateral or affinal kin, or both in one of these instances.

It is significant that only 1 of the 7 men remaining had established his household in a village to which he was affiliated

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[1] This location may not in fact have been near Sivepe. It may have been Ombisusu (near the pre-contact village of Wasida) which Williams (W.10) says Jegase people abandoned to establish Suin after the arrival of the government. This may have involved a move down the slopes.

591 only through his father and even in this case his sister, her children and his daughter subsequently married in the village so he is now also living with other cognates and with affines. The 6 other men are living in the same village as their father's kin, but for 4 of them this is also their wife's home village, for another it is also his mother's village and the last man is co-resident with patrilineal, matrilateral and affinal kin simultaneously. In several cases certain people fall into more than one of these kinship categories in relation to 1 person. Six householders have sisters who have married within the village.[1]

In view of the fact that such a variety of relationships is found in this group, Hogbin's and Wedgwood's outline of Orokaiva local grouping, which is based on secondary sources, does not seem relevant to present day social organization in this neighbourhood. They regard the Orokaiva as patrivirilocal[2] (1952-4:64 ff.) and suggest that the parish or local political unit is an exogamous patrilineal group whose members were strongly united and unready to assimilate outsiders. Like Williams (1930:131-3) they mention frequent exceptions to this rule of post-marital residence yet seem to underestimate the degree of variability in the composition of the village and to overemphasize the solidarity of the unilineal group and the importance of the preference for patrivirilocal residence and of exogamy in localized patrilineal groups.[3]

Williams on the other hand says 'the Orokaiva organization
very nearly approaches a bilateral system, though in theory it is
[582] patrilineal' (1925:407) and points to 'the laxity of marriage
regulations'. Even in the small Aiga clan 'exogamy is not a hard
[614] and fast rule'; preference for intraclan marriage is sometimes
expressed (1930:131-2). It may be thought a 'proper thing to keep
the women in the village' - which Williams here implicitly equates
with clan - 'in the hope of building up its population' (1925:408).

621 A striking proportion of marriages are contracted between members of groups in close proximity. Data available for 35 marriages contracted over 3 genealogical generations by the householders of our sample, or by their parents, siblings or children, show that in 22 cases 1 spouse came either from the

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[1] Four instances of brother-sister exchange marriage among members of Sivepe were recorded (i.e., 8 marriages).

[2] Williams (1930:131) uses the term 'patrilocal'.

[3] The local organization in this neighbourhood seems closer to the category of 'osculant multicarpellary parishes' than any other (see also Hogbin 1963:32). However, we believe that the abstraction, if legitimate now is not the most informative.

621 current village of the other or from a village within a mile of it, in 11 cases from within a radius of approximately 3 miles of it (in fact an area only slightly larger than the 'neighbourhood'), while 2 spouses came from outside the tribe. Williams (1930:131-3) speaks of 'a certain degree of local endogamy'. The Aiga village '(in which there may be several clans)...cannot be called exogamous even in theory'.

Belshaw too (1951:15) pointed out that marriage is usually between people whose parents do not live far apart. For this reason he warned that amalgamation of nearby 'hamlets' after the eruption might increase tension between groups linked by marriage. [602] But relationships between affines in Sivepe appeared to be generally close and behaviour relatively informal and friendly when compared with other areas (e.g., Inonda).

621 606 [578] Perhaps there is a similar contrast with former practice (see Williams, ibid:106, 114, 128, 131). However, in 1924 in a third area (the Ope or Aiga), the village, consisting as it might of intermarrying clans, was quite free from 'quarrels and ill-feeling' (Williams, ibid:315) and, moreover, it is 'not unusual' for a man to divide his time quite comfortably 'between the villages of his wife's people and his own' with the result that 'the relation between the father's people and the mother's people is, in practice, so friendly and intimate, that the child associates himself almost as readily with the latter as with the former' - 'so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family' (1925:407-8, 410).

166 Individuals freely and frequently change their village of residence, whereas the villages are enduring units. During the years 1957-61 the population of Sivepe and Binduta together averaged 165: there were in the same time no less than 113 movements of individuals into or out of this couple of villages and, according to data collected by ourselves, at least 13 between the 2 villages. The government census statistics reveal neither the cause, exact destination nor frequency of movement by an individual nor are his age or marital status recorded.[1]

614 613 (ii) Formal features of the local patrilineal groups. In discussing the local disposition of clans, we have already taken 'clan branch' to denote the representatives of the clan living in one village. We retain the term not only for the Timmu group but also for the members of the 4 Jegase lineages living at Sivepe, even though these villagers do not constitute a group of co-resident agnates with functions to mark it as a distinctive unit within the

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[1] Thus the figures do not differentiate between adults and children (see McArthur 1956:324-36).

556 [888] [178] Our brief investigations indicated that neither seniority by age nor seniority by genealogical position is invariably an attribute of the men who today exercise power among local agnates or have influence in a wider local group. This may indicate recent cultural change. These men very often achieve and maintain such a position as men who are personally active in a wide range of affairs[1] (delegation of responsibility by issuing orders is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the European system of leadership). They will be vigorous gardeners,[2] organize feasts and participate in a wide range of traditional exchanges, at the same time building a reputation as a man who has acquired material wealth, e.g., livestock and - to a lesser extent now than formerly - traditional valuables.

555 Not the least of their assets may be a reputation as a practitioner of 'white' magic, or as a dangerous man who has assiduously developed the skills of a sorcerer. The roles of 'big men' with these attributes may not be directly related to their age or genealogical status in a descent group. There are often several such dominant figures in a village.

621 The diffuse pattern of authority evident in villages in the neighbourhood under discussion may be ascribed partly to the fact that the present nucleated settlements are the culmination of a series of what the people feel to have been enforced amalgamations of independent kin groups. [622] Even before this process began no source of political cohesion existed in the form of inherited positions of authority commanding the continuing allegiance of sizeable local groups of dependents.

625 The expansion of villages to embrace more kin groups was accompanied by a proliferation of independent minor leaders in a single local group, not by the consolidation of positions of power. A patrol report of 1948 also revealed that the large Isivita, Isoge and Awala 'native districts' had received so little attention from the District Office nearby that the organization of villages under village constables had been allowed to deteriorate 'almost to chaos' since the Japanese occupation. 'One constable was found looking after eight scattered hamlets.'[3] Moreover in some cases migration seemed to have been so extensive that the areas of a number of constables overlapped.

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[595] [1] Cf. *kiti jigari* (p.30).

[2] Polygamists were able to maintain larger garden areas than other men. On the incidence of polygamy in the past see Williams 1930:130.

[3] Note that in 1924-5 among the Aiga 4 of the 10 village constables were each in charge of 6 or more villages.

613 Overall the land of Berekipa lineage is more fragmented, though less scattered than the holdings of the Bebehupa, which are larger.

From detailed accounts of completed land transfers between the Berekipa and Arehu, whose present holdings are mostly interspersed[1] near the sites of Simbehata and Pusahambo, and from other historical data we infer that this land previously formed far more continuous tracts belonging to descent groups such as these. To a noticeable extent the spatial relations between the shares of the Bebehupa, Berekipa and Arehu in the extended tract of Jegase land marked by the sites of former settlement can be construed as a teritorial correlate of the pattern of each lineage's ancestors' migrations to or from local groups there. The shifts of residence relevant today are remembered in some detail.

e. Land use and mobility

241 Williams (1928:156) advocated a change from shifting to sedentary agriculture for the Orokaiva on the grounds that the former was wasteful of land and labour, and that the tendency to form small independent settlements resulted from the 'lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site'. He considered shifting agriculture to be 'one of the most potent causes of village and clan disintegration'.

[361] Keesing (1951:8) noted that the mountain Orokaiva had generally resisted the post-war movement to consolidate into larger villages. So long as the 'mobile economic base' persisted, he considered that resettlement into larger permanent villages after the Mt Lamington eruption would be unlikely to succeed. The Orokaiva showed no inclination to adopt more intensive sedentary cultivation and he predicted that a return to shifting agriculture would involve 'seasonal movement' outward from the environs of the settlements to new cultivation areas, and later the resumption of settlement in scattered hamlets. In view of these assertions about the connection between agricultural practice and settlement patterns, upon which Williams and Keesing based their discussion of economic development, it may be useful to examine the relations in Sivepe between mobility and village stability on the one hand, and traditional land use on the other.

621 [361] [721] Keesing suggests that the tendency, mentioned by Williams, for the Orokaiva to disperse into smaller residential units since pacification had been particularly marked on these heavily populated slopes. The suppression of intertribal feuding probably

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[1] To a lesser extent they are also interspersed with parcels of other lineages' land.

62 [361] [721] facilitated the type of local movements that we noted occurred in the neighbourhood of Sivepe. However at times[1] the density 'on the ground' of villages of the standard size found in the other Orokaiva tribes may be misconstrued as a state of advanced fragmentation of settlement.

It should be noted that the limited amount of relevant detail on the areas where Williams worked[2] fails to indicate a significant difference in size between the Aiga village averaging 26 people at that time, and the Wasida village, with about 6 houses and a single-boys' house.

166 [657] [614] The Sivepe people have moved only singly or in small groups except when villages have been directed to amalgamate by the Administration. The villagers say that, except when they were evacuated to Ilimo refugee camp, they have never been forced to move from the area which had been held by their ancestors, or to rely on outside groups for access to land. Our evidence indicates that, except for limited expansion into unoccupied land early in the century, all the major shifts of residence of the sample clan branches have been confined to their own territory.

[425] [614] People who have moved to take up rights in other land have done so by exploiting personal ties of kinship or affinity. We found no instances of overlapping land claims at the clan or local branch level such as are found in other areas of Orokaiva territory where enough land was available for whole clans to move the location of their settlement some distance to unused land of a friendly group.

621 Belshaw (1951:3) observed that in the years preceding the Mt Lamington eruption

> there was much feeling among Government officers that the relatively poor houses of the district, and the small hamlets, should give way to new villages built on the 'Kokoda' pattern, that is a line of substantial houses built around a grassy village square.

[178] [166] The people tended to resist this change, but they had made some moves to amalgamate 'hamlets' (see p.34). He noted also that there was much movement between villages, and that it usually involved a man's leaving his father's land to live on that of his mother or his wife.

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[1] For instance, when the densely populated area stretching from Isivita to Isoge and Awala villages struck the writer of one generally observant report as 'literally a mass of small hamlets' some of them with no more than 20 members.

[2] See Williams 1930:7; W.1.

166 [342] Individual mobility is still high, as we have already noted. Mobility is facilitated by the fact that material for housing - *wange* timber framework, blackpalm floor, walls and roof-thatch from sago trees[1] - is usually readily available and houses have an average life of only 4 years.

361 ● [621] The patrol of 1948 which found this area 'literally a mass of small hamlets' alludes to a possibility that the proliferation of these groups had become conspicuous only 'since the Japanese invasion'.[2] The long-term trend after the 1951 eruption, the next catastrophe to cause displacement of population comparable with the wartime upheaval, was towards effective consolidation instead of the proliferation of small groups, such as the scattering of post-invasion days.

361 178 621 When people began to leave the evacuation camp there was a spontaneous trend, which was encouraged by officials, towards building larger villages or, alternatively, clusters of 'hamlets' within sight of each other (Belshaw 1951:5 ff.).

[177] Plant (1951:6) and Belshaw (1951:6) suggested the following reasons for this tendency: that reconstruction would be easier if large numbers of neighbours co-operated; that the renewed interest in co-operatives led to a desire for larger groups; that the example of Ilimo Camp had given people the notion that larger groupings were correlated in some way with higher standards of living; that the Europeans, whose goodwill was now evident, favoured bigger settlements; and finally that their common disastrous experience had reinforced their sense of unity.

621 Although the present-day villages are smaller than those established at the start of the resettlement before the danger area had again been occupied, they are considerably larger than their counterparts of pre-eruption days: Belshaw (1951:2) says that the population of 'hamlets' in the area was of the order of 20 to 80 and the population of the 'hamlet group' under one name ranged from 150 to 400. At present in the Saiho Census Division the average population of the residential unit, in nearly every instance a nucleated village, can be no less than 175.[3]

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[613] [1] Some informants stated that materials (except sago) could be collected from any village members' land but most claimed they sought wood only from lineage land unless invited to use trees by particular kin from other groups.

[2] This report was probably the major source of Belshaw's and Keesing's information on the pre-eruption situation.

[3] We do not know the average size of a group of villages known by a 'hamlet group' name such as Awala, Waseta, etc.

621 At the time of resettlement these writers drew attention to the possibility that the composite villages would eventually be disrupted either by aggravated friction between members of different clans who had not lived together before or by the unsuitable siting of the settlements with regard to access to the villagers' own gardening lands.

[754 [166 The first problem was solved by individual mobility. Our own experience which is confirmed by the observations of patrol staff is that fear of sorcery, which follows tension within the village, is one important example of the vicissitudes of social relationships which are responsible for much of the movement from one village to another at present.[1] But the problem of the location of gardens in relation to residence was solved in time wherever people moved from the main road or other temporary settlement areas to new sites on or near their old land.

This land use problem was peculiar to the exceptional resettlement conditions and Keesing seems not to have considered this point when he concluded that the formation of larger villages was incompatible with the economic base of shifting agriculture. His prediction that people would continually 'hive off' into hamlets of a dozen houses consistent with their familiar system of seasonal shifting gardens does not seem to have eventuated.

The scattering of an individual's land interests over a neighbourhood facilitates mobility between adjacent villages because after moving, for whatever reason, he can often continue to [166 exploit rights to those lands which are at a convenient distance from his new village. We found, however, no evidence to suggest that shifts of residence are determined by a continual need to clear new areas for cultivation even if these areas lie scattered near a number of villages.

171 241 361 Residential mobility is not as closely correlated with changes in gardening sites as it is among the Chimbu even though, as Williams says, the Orokaiva move their garden sites frequently. Among the Chimbu, on the other hand, where a long cultivation period usually of at least 4 years, sometimes broken by short fallow periods (when the area of cultivation within the plot is shifted), is followed by long fallow periods of varying length up to about 20 years (Brookfield and Brown 1963:52), 'the principal factor determining residence is land; most men prefer to live near their main blocks of currently cultivated land' (ibid:97).

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[1] Other examples are disputes between kin, and life-crises. About 1956 the oldest Bebehupa man left Binduta to spend his last years at Mahihita, an area to which he has been emotionally attached for much of his life. One or 2 close kin went to look after him and a series of other Bebehupa have followed.

241 171 361 With the passage of the cultivation cycle over a Chimbu subclan's territory, gardeners move from one men's house to another, either as a persisting group of agnates working contiguous holdings, or as individuals joining more transient groups which are dissolved as gardens near the house revert to fallow (ibid:98; Brown and Brookfield 1959:68). As they extended their cultivation to other areas, 37 per cent of a sample of 193 men had moved from one men's house to another over a period of 16 months (Brookfield and Brown 1963:98) and the men's houses themselves last no longer than 5 years (ibid:12).

241 In Sivepe on the other hand, gardens tend to be scattered and isolated. Father and son often have adjacent plots in one garden area but the son usually has at least 1 other garden elsewhere. A young married man often has 1 garden on the land of his wife's father, whom he will periodically assist in his garden. Older men in general adopt the technique of progressively planting and clearing a single large area while younger and more active men, usually with more obligations to affines, tend to cultivate several scattered smaller plots.

[621] [602] There is no local group or extended kinship group which commonly combines to make a block of contiguous gardens. Even when all members of the village plant simultaneously for a special feast, the gardens are not adjacent. A man usually takes advantage of the choice of exercising planting rights on the land of a wide range of kinsmen (not necessarily his agnates), both those within the village and to a lesser extent kinsmen from other villages. Several had current gardens on their mother's brother's land, some on the nearby land of their wife's brother, sister's husband or daughter's husband.

613 614 184 In other Orokaiva areas (such as Inonda) gardeners of one lineage often have a reciprocal arrangement with another lineage of the same clan in the village to cultivate a parcel of their land with them, but this is not a common practice at Sivepe. In the few cases where several kinsmen have made adjacent gardens the gardeners are mostly cognatic kin from different clans or villages and each will probably make his next garden with different kin or on an isolated parcel.

166 171 425 Encroachment on boundaries is feared[1] but does not seem to result in repeated changes of residence as it does among the

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[578] [1] The 3 instances of boundary disputes recorded were between Bebehupa and Usohu people. According to the older men the Usohu were formerly a Jegase group and they share many boundaries with the Bebehupa; the recent split in Binduta between the 2 groups has been accompanied by friction over a number of issues including the definition of boundaries.

171 619 121 (3) the district had a compact territory (unlike the tribe) but its members were not all bound in mutual support in attack and defence, as were tribesmen in Chimbu where the motives of war and alliance and the territorial results of defeat were different;

614 171 121 (4) the Orokaiva clans which were scattered, often through several districts, did not have a single territorial focus and were radically different from a Chimbu clan; the latter is much more localized in a relatively continuous territory, may include 800 persons, preserves an internal solidarity and an opposition to others, and is probably the most stable social unit with its distinctive territorial and exogamic features. Clearly even a branch of an Orokaiva clan, which is the only group corresponding in significant respects, was only a fraction of the size, followed quite different settlement practices and, it seems, has long been non-exogamous (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:51, 55, 74; Brookfield and Brown 1963:11, 94, 98).

121 171 In the present study an adequate discussion of the hypothesis requires a demonstration that the same variables isolated in the analysis of the Highlands societies can be observed among the mountain Orokaiva. It is possible to state in terms relevant to the Orokaiva context the central issues involved in the accommodation or incorporation of non-agnates in patrilineal territorial groups and the function of the complex of interpersonal ties linking groups in the local community and in the political unit. Much of our earlier discussion has dealt with residence and local organization and we will not elaborate on the obvious points of contrast in patterns of settlement or territorial organization between these Orokaiva and the Chimbu (or Enga, etc.).

171 621 121 Over and above these differences there is in the principles of organization of the local communities of the 2 peoples an essential similarity which enables us to argue that in a sense the largest political and territorial units in neither society often include 'descent groups as distinct territorial units. Local units are often composed of parts of several descent groups, and descent groups are scattered in several localities' (Brookfield and Brown 1963:94; also Brown 1962:68). A further principle directly applicable in analysing the Orokaiva District is expressed in the assertion of a

> high correlation between proximity of clans and frequency of intermarriage [which] brings about a high proportion of ties of kinship and affinity between neighbouring clans.... Territorial distinctiveness

171 121

> breaks down between [these] clans with land loans, gifts and membership changes....
> (Brookfield and Brown 1963:158)

621 Both peoples combine patrilineal descent and inheritance with a form of high residential mobility and flexible group affiliation. Within the tribe there is little difference between relationships with affines and relationships with kin in terms of ease of contact, friendliness and mutual assistance; within the local community containing members of several descent groups a solidarity is created by the characteristic multiplication of individual affinal and matrilateral relationships (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:54-6; Brown 1962:68; Brookfield and Brown 1963:78, 129, 132; Watson, ed. 1964:345-8, 352-5).

423 171 Individuality in land control is reinforced in both societies by the absence of formal inherited positions of leadership and a pattern of interpenetrating territories is caused by processes of individual acquisition and retention (see Brookfield and Brown 1963:141, 156).

161 [184] (361) [131]

The Orokaiva comprise a number of groups, with mutually intelligible dialects and a high degree of cultural uniformity, extending some sixty miles northwards from the Hydrographers Range and from the coast inland to the foothills of the Owen Stanleys. The overall population density is only 9.1 persons per square mile but the distribution is highly uneven (see Table 1.3) with major concentrations on the fertile northern slopes of Mt Lamington (63.8 persons per square miles in the Saiho census division) and the coastal periphery (62.2 in Gona census division). The grassland and more northerly forest areas are only sparsely populated.

162 621 ●

Table 1:3

Popondetta sub-district: demographic characteristics of selected census divisions, 1963

	Crude population density (persons per square mile)	Cultivable acres per head	Mean size of settlement
Saiho	63.8	9	216
Gona	62.2	6	221
Oro Bay	43.6	9	103
Sangara	26.7	9	197
Popondetta	17.2	19	109
Togahau	16.9	25	146
Asigi	9.1	53	87
Buna	8.4	31	94
Huhurindi	6.7	53	69

Source: Population data derived from DDA 1963 census data (1961 Popondetta, 1962 Saiho).

621 361

Small villages are the characteristic unit of settlement, with houses disposed in a more or less rectangular form around a central earth or grass 'square'. Their size varies in relation to overall population density, but nowhere exceeds 720 persons,[1] the mean being 144 persons. The social organisation and economy of the Orokaiva contribute to considerable instability in settlements, both in composition and site.

621. 614

A village normally contains more than one clan branch[2] and consequently is not necessarily a landholding unit. Its members may have closer ties of kinship with residents of other villages than

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[1] Kiorota village in Saiho census division.

[2] See p.10.

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity
that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which
recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
[476] expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain
tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the
clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which
[613] trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on
average, three households. Usually several clans are represented
in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being
scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are
much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a
single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no
central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of
elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men
command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities
of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and
skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanctions.

591 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal,
but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of
patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[592] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
[594] within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally
the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[614] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence
[166]

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[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

491 [499] [361] station with Boru on the main road near Awala and passing within a mile of Sivepe, but it was not completed by the onset of the wet season. It was intended that this would be used by the OCGS and other purchasers of produce. This was the main reason for the Sivepe people's decision to move their village to a site within 200 yards of Sasembata mission station.

797 [743] [871] Sasembata mission is a head station of the Anglican mission. Among its facilities are a church, administered by an Orokaiva priest, a hospital and infant welfare clinic run by a Papuan medical orderly but supervised from the Administration hospital at Saiho, and a primary school with 400 children on the roll.[1] The school includes classes up to Standard V and is headed by an Australian with the assistance of ten Papuan teachers. A small trade store is operated by Oro Ltd at Kongohambo village adjoining the mission station.

621 [342] Sivepe itself is laid out as a line village, with lineage members tending to occupy adjoining houses (see Map 4). The houses have a mean size of 229 sq ft and are built entirely of local materials, with the exception of nails which are now commonly used.

[125] Three clan branches are represented in the village and two of these, the Jegase and Timumu clans,[2] comprised the survey sample (55.3 per cent of the total village population of 114 in January 1964), the characteristics of which reveal them to be representative of the population as a whole.[3]

166 464 The population of the sample declined by 20.6 per cent, from 63 to 50 persons, over the survey period. Ten of the 17 departures migrated to other villages and the rest sought wage employment within the district or in Port Moresby. This continuing out-migration intensified certain characteristics of the village's labour force, for by January 1965, 37.8 per cent of the potential adult male labour force was absent, the majority on a long-term basis in unskilled or semi-skilled work or low-ranking positions in government service.[4] In three cases, wives and children remained in the village and were supported by close kin. In January 1965, there were only two men remaining in the 20 to 34 years age groups.

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[1] An estimated 80 per cent of the children in the area receive some schooling.

[361] [2] Clansmen also reside in twelve other villages, all within a radius of 3.7 miles of Sivepe.

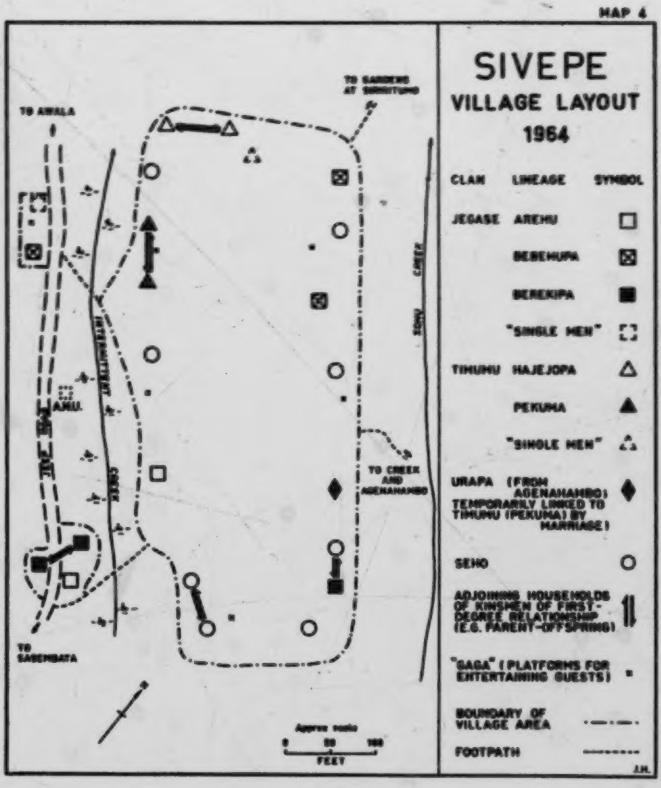
[3] See Appendix 1 A and Fig. 4:1. B [4] See Appendix 2. C

A, [See Category 163, p. 307--Analyst] B, [See Category 162, p. 39--Analyst]

C, [See Category 166, p. 308--Analyst]

102
361
133
491
● 621

MAP 4


SIVEPE
VILLAGE LAYOUT
1964
CLAN
LINEAGE
SYMBOL
JEGASE
AREHU
BEBEHUPA
BEREKIPA
"SINGLE MEN"
TIMUMU
HAJEJOPA
PEKUMA
"SINGLE MEN"
URAPA (FROM AGENAHAMBO) TEMPORARILY LINKED TO TIMUMU (PEKUMA) BY MARRIAGE)
SEHO
ADJOINING HOUSEHOLDS OF KINSMEN OF FIRST-DEGREE RELATIONSHIP (E.G. PARENT-OFFSPRING)
"SAGA" (PLATFORMS FOR ENTERTAINING GUESTS)
BOUNDARY OF VILLAGE AREA
FOOTPATH
J.H.
TO AWALA
TO GARDENS AT SENITUMO
TO SASEMBATA
TO CREEK AND AGENAHAMBO
INTERMITTENT CREEK
STONY CREEK
ANU.
Approx scale
0
50
100
FEET

511
439

Table 4:6

Sivepe: non-traditional household property, November 1964

(Figures represent numbers of items)

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
No. of adults	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	3	2
Tools and equipment:											
Axe	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
Bush knife	3	4	3	4	2	2	2	3	3	2	3
Grass knife	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	2	2	2
Shovel/spade	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1
Hoe	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fork	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pocket knife	2	4	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	1
Saw	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
File	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Hammer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	1
Adze	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bolo	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanner	-	-	-	-	-	1 set	-	-	-	-	-
Shotgun	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sack	2	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Household:											
Cutlery	21	13	2	11	2	9	2	26	11	4	4
Cooking pot	3	3	1	1	-	4	1	4	4	2	3
Dish/plate	9	20	9	10	-	8	3	12	13	10	13
Mug/glass	2	9	1	5	-	4	-	3	2	5	6
Teapot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Needle and thread	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Yes	Yes	-
Hurricane lamp	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	1
Torch	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Radio	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personal:											
Blanket	2	3	-	-	1	4	1	3	3	1	1
Sheet	2	4	3	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	1
Pillow	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	-	-
Mosquito net	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sleeping-mat	1	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	-
Towel	3	7	1	1	1	3	-	1	1	1	-
Groundsheet cape	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Suitcase/kitbag/pack	4	4	2	-	-	2	1	5	4	1	3
Laplap	9	2	1	-	-	2	11	3	5	2	1
Shirt/blouse/dress	5	4	3	4	2	2	1	7	6	2	2
Trousers/shorts/skirt	9	11	3	3	1	7	-	13	5	5	4
Underwear	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1
Sweater/coat	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Footwear	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Belt	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Handkerchief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hat	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hair oil/powder	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Comb/brush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Toothbrush	-	1*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirror	2	2	-	2	-	1	1	2	3	2	1
Scissors	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biro/pencil	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Purse	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Lighter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Watch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

* Acquired during the second world war!

Notes. 1. There is also some communally-held rubber-tapping equipment (tapping tools, spouts and a bucket) in the village, provided by the owner of the local rubber factory.

2. Considerable use is made of discarded metal containers, e.g. large cans for cooking pots, screw-top tobacco tins for lime, and beaten-out drums for hearths.

[621]
[177]

361 [621] [342] Like Sivepe, both sites of Inonda were laid out as line villages. Here the tendency for grouping of kin is more marked but still not rigid (see Map 6). The houses, with a mean size of 282 sq ft, are built largely of local materials, but incorporate some exotic items including nails, and, in certain cases, corrugated iron roofing from nearby wartime dumps. In addition to the residences, there is a rest-house, a copra-drier, a small trade store and a chapel. Brief weekly services are held by a villager who was once a mission teacher and who also owns the store.

162 In January 1964, the resident population of the village was 35, with 16 adults, a drop of seven since the time of Crocombe and Hogbin's survey (1963:58). The nine households had an average of 3.9 individuals or 1.8 labour units. No births or deaths occurred during the survey but there were three arrivals and seven departures giving a total of 31 people, including 16 adults, in January 1965. 166 In addition, several people from other villages stayed temporarily with kinsmen in Inonda. At first, there were two local clan branches in Inonda, the Andirihaha and the Jego'undi, the latter being represented by a single family.[1] When the village moved in 1964 the Jego'undi man, having virtually no rights to land near the new site, decided to move instead to the nearby village of Mosou, which is built on his land. He, his wife and four daughters were from this point (July 1964) excluded from the daily interviews, which explains the most prominent change, namely the loss of female children, in the age-sex structure diagram (Fig.4:2).[A] In contrast with Fig. 4:1 for Sivepe,[B] Fig.4:2 shows neither males nor females in the 15 to 19 years age group; the largest concentration of adult males is in the 20 to 24 years group, where Sivepe has none. The proportion of long-term absentee adult males was 16.6 per cent in January 1964 (i.e. two out of twelve) and 25 per cent in 1965, the rise being due to the departure of the Jego'undi man. One absentee is normally resident in Port Moresby and seems unlikely to return except on retirement; the other, his brother, lives less than three miles from Inonda at Ijika near Hohota, which is his widowed mother's village, and he constantly asserts his intention to return to Inonda.[2]

621 The major agnatic links of the Andirihaha people are with Hohota, but extend to Kakandetta and Hanakiro, ten miles away, while

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[1] A third local clan branch, the Horemba'undi, is represented in Inonda by a single household, which is resident through affinal ties and it has no right to Inonda lands, although it is allowed to make food gardens there.

[2] i.e. two of the three 'absentees' continue to reside in subsistence villages, unlike the Sivepe absentees who are all in, or seeking, full-time wage employment elsewhere.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

A,[See Category 162, p.55--Analyst] B,[See Category 162, p.39--Analyst]

102
361
133
491
621

MAP 6

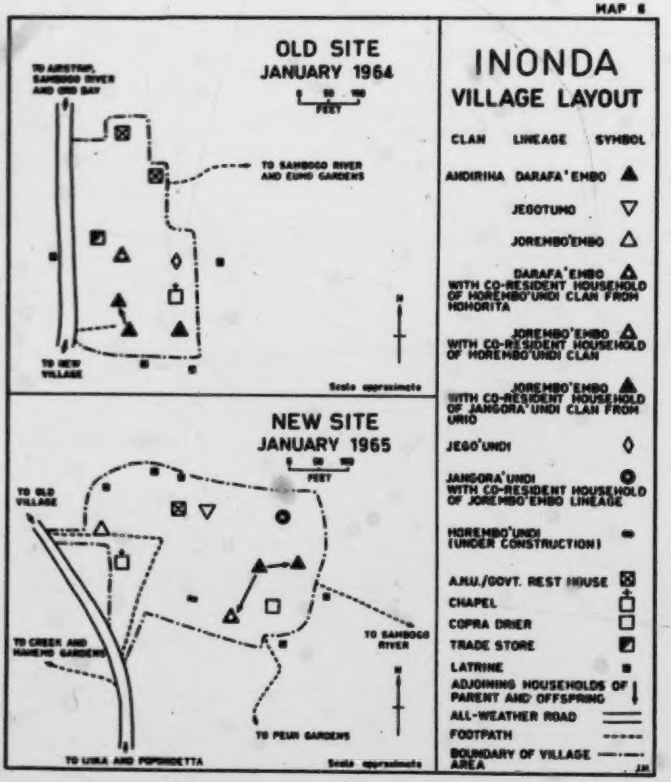
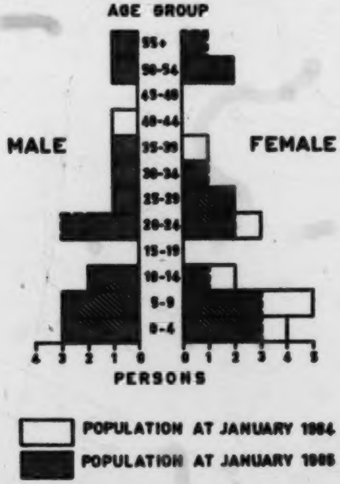

OLD SITE
JANUARY 1964
0 50 100
FEET
TO AIRSTRIP, SAMBOGO RIVER AND ORO BAY
TO SAMBOGO RIVER AND EUMO GARDENS
TO NEW VILLAGE
N
Scale approximate
NEW SITE
JANUARY 1965
0 50 100
FEET
TO OLD VILLAGE
TO CREEK AND HAHEHO GARDENS
TO SAMBOGO RIVER
TO PEUN GARDENS
TO UIRA AND POPONDETTA
N
Scale approximate
INONDA
VILLAGE LAYOUT
CLAN
LINEAGE
SYMBOL
ANDIRIHA
DARAFA'EMBO
JEGOTUMO
JOREMBO'EMBO
DARAFA'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN FROM HOHORITA
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JANGORA'UNDI CLAN FROM URIO
JEGO'UNDI
JANGORA'UNDI WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JOREMBO'EMBO LINEAGE
HOREMBO'UNDI (UNDER CONSTRUCTION)
A.N.U./GOVT. REST HOUSE
CHAPEL
COPRA DRIER
TRADE STORE
LATRINE
ADJOINING HOUSEHOLDS OF PARENT AND OFFSPRING
ALL-WEATHER ROAD
FOOTPATH
BOUNDARY OF VILLAGE AREA
J.H.

FIGURE 4:2

162

INONDA: AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

SHOWING NET CHANGES JANUARY 1964-JANUARY 1965



621 non-agnatic ties have led to close relationships with people in Ajoro, Sewa, Mosou, Urio, Jonita and Hohorita.

463 As in Sivepe, most of the men have had labouring jobs and two had also been teachers for the Anglican mission - one for 27 years, the other for 6 years, including 4 in New Britain.

871 Three household heads, all over 40 years of age, have had no education. One household head and one woman reached standard V and the woman's husband completed standard IV. Two young men, one a household head, served as farmer trainees at Popondetta Agricultural Station, and another completed eleven months of the course at the aid post orderly training school at Saiho.

554 In addition to his six years with the Anglican mission, one of the ex-teachers, a man of 35, was for two years local government

When the Japanese landed at Gona Mission in , 1942, all the 648
Yega - men, women and children - fled into the bush and made their 722
way to Ambasi, 30 miles to the north-west. There they lived for
the next two years, returning to the Gona area in 1944. By 1950 361
they had settled down again on their seven traditional village
sites along the coast between Cape Killerton and the eastern end
of Holnicote Bay. One new village was established at Surilai on
Cape Killerton.

Clan membership determined the village of residence of each 621
family in the Yega tribe. In some instances, place of residence 614
was determined by membership of a particular sub-clan. Of the
eight Yega villages, four were inhabited by male members of more
than one clan. The remaining four villages were each occupied by
members of only one clan and their wives and children.

After an abortive attempt at communal farming in 1947-52, the 361
large village of Beporo was brought into existence under the 178
direction and guidance of two educated young men who taught that 621
a large village close to the mission church, school and hospital
was the 'civilized' form of settlement. Some three quarters of [241]
the Yega people, apart from those in wage-work away from home, [166]
moved to Beporo village which was expanded to accommodate them.
Although a broad pattern of clan residence could still be re-
cognized in Beporo, the clans themselves began to lose their [614]
functional identity within the tribe. There was a weakening of [602]
traditional kinship patterns of co-operation in everyday activities.

Although their earlier communal farming venture had failed, the 178
Yega were still very much attracted to the idea of making money 245
from cash crops. Accordingly, with the advice of the District 242
Agricultural Officer (D.A.O.), they cleared 15 blocks during [654]
1957-8 and planted them with coffee trees. These blocks ranged
from a quarter of an acre to two acres in area; one was planted
by a group of six relatives, the remainder by individuals of
various clans.

For the most part these coffee blocks were cleared in areas of [242]
secondary forest which normally formed part of the land rotation
cycle for food crop production. Although they were located at [591]
distances of up to four miles from the blockholders' villages,
only one man changed his place of residence as a direct result of
establishing a coffee block. This man moved to Gatara, two and a
half miles inland from his previous home and established a single-family homestead, a settlement quite out of keeping with traditional
Yega practice. The coffee scheme failed, partly on account of low
prices received for early pickings, and partly because in 1960 a
much more ambitious cocoa-planting scheme, the so-called Yega
Scheme, was begun. It absorbed most of the energies of the Yega
during the following two or three years.

Table 5

Permanent residents of new villages of Binjapada and Ononda
As at December 1962 (to nearest month)

166
361
614
● 621

Informant	Village of present residence	Months since move	Village of last residence	Village of birth	Clan	Marital status
14	Binjapada	24	Beporo	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
1	"	12	Niniyanda	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
9*	"	12	Niniyanda	Kanaunje	Seseko	S
2	"	2	Niniyanda	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
4	"	2	Kanaunje	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
5	"	2	Kanaunje	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
6**	"	2	New Garara	Old Garara	Andere	M
7	"	2	Kanaunje	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
8	"	1	Surilai	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
24	"	0	Beporo	Basabuga	Gena	M
25	"	0	Beporo	N/S	Seseko	M
26	"	0	Beporo	Basabuga	Eupu	M
15	Ononda	12	Beporo	Kanaunje	Seseko	M
16	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
17	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
18	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
3	"	2	Beporo	Gombe	Jambapa	M
10	"	2	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	M
20	"	0	Banumo	Banumo	Seseko	M
21	"	0	Beporo	Beporo	Sambori	M
22	"	0	Beporo	Beporo	Jambapa	M
23	"	0	Beporo	Beporo	Jambapa	M
12	Ononda (D.A.S.F.)	30	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	S
11	"	12	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	S
19	"	12	Beporo	Banumo	Seseko	S
13	"	2	Beporo	Gombe	Kurau	S

[732] * Brother of informant No.1, whom he helped. He was a deaf mute and had not been allocated a cocoa block.

[423] [425] ** He is a non-Yega man who was accepted into the Seseko clan of Yega. He was allocated a cocoa block in the Ononda Scheme and his son was adopted by a Seseko man from whom the boy could inherit land. At the time of the second visit to Yega in July-August 1964 this man had rejoined his own people and his block was reallocated to a Yega man.

583 is still transferred in most marriages, including those which take
177 place in a church.

797 Polygyny was accepted but probably not frequent in traditional
Orokaiva society. In spite of mission opposition there are still
595 instances of polygyny but the great majority of marriages are
monogamous. Marriage outside the clan is considered preferable
614 but there are numerous cases of marriage within the clan. The
village is not considered an exogamous unit. Marriages are usually
582 patrilocal but this is not a definite rule (cf. Williams 1930:130-3).
[621]
591

III

In this particular marriage the groom lived in Inonda, a village
584 of approximately 45 people about 11 miles from Popondetta.[1] His
was the only family of the Jegotumo lineage of the Andiriha clan in Inonda, although there were others at Hohota I and Kakendetta.[2] The groom was the eldest child by his father's first wife. His mother died several years before his marriage and his father remarried. The father died six weeks before the marriage payment described here took place.

The groom attended Anglican mission schools for eight years and reached Standard V. He was baptized in 1958. In 1960, when he was about 16, he left school to train as a medical orderly at a mission hospital at Embi about ten miles from Inonda. In 1962 he returned to his father's household in Inonda and was employed by the government for $3 per week to tend the ford where the road from Popondetta to Oro Bay crossed the Girua river. He also assisted with the production of coffee, from which the household earned approximately $16.00 annually, and with the household's food gardens.

The bride attended mission schools for four years and reached Standard III but was not baptized. Her father, who died during World War II, had been the head of Joremba'embo lineage and of the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda as well as headman of that village. After her father's death the bride went with her mother, elder sister and brother to live with her mother's elder brother at Ajoro village about five miles away. In 1948 a parallel cousin of her father was demobilized from the army and married her mother, thereby becoming her adoptive father (to be referred to hereafter simply as her father). Subsequently she lived in his household in Inonda

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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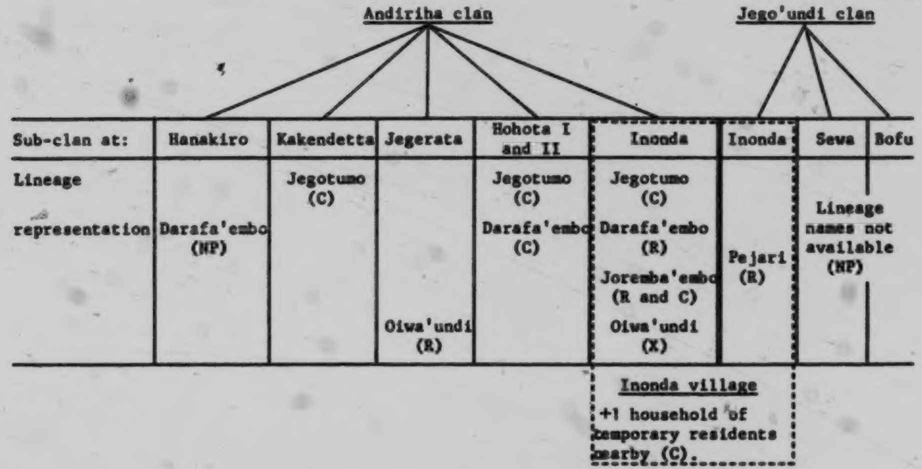
[1] See map, p.84 A

[2] See diagram, p.85 B and Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:14-25.

A [See Category 102, p. 84--Analyst]

B [See Category 583, p. 85--Analyst]

Diagram showing locations of Andiriha and Jego'undi clans and social units comprising Inonda



	Andiriha clan					Jego'undi clan		
Sub-clan at:	Hanakiro	Kakendetta	Jegerata	Hohota I and II	Inonda	Inonda	Sewa	Bofu
Lineage representation	Darafa'embo (NP)	Jegotumo (C)	Oiwa'undi (R)	Jegotumo (C) Darafa'embo (C)	Jegotumo (C) Darafa'embo (R) Joremba'embo (R and C) Oiwa'undi (X)	Pejari (R)	Lineage names not available (NP)	

Inonda village

+1 household of temporary residents nearby (C).

C = contributed to bride-wealth
R = received share of bride-wealth
NP = took no part in the exchange
X = sole male representative was youth adopted into groom's father's household

583 [851] These people were expected to return a feast of similar size for the groom, in contrast to the bride-wealth for which no return payment is expected.

VII

583 613 The economic consequences of the payment were greatest in four households - those of the groom and his parallel cousin, both of Jegotumo lineage, who contributed most; and those of the bride's father and brother, both of Joremba'embo lineage, who received most. Other households' contributions to, and shares of, the payment were minor by comparison. Members of a lineage did not act as a unit for the purpose of the marriage, nor was each member expected to contribute to, or share equally in, the payment, or even to contribute in proportion to his wealth.

583 614 This was not an ideal situation in which to investigate the extent to which the Andiriha clan functions as a unit, because the marriage was within the clan. However, it was by no means a clan affair. On the one hand, Andiriha households from Hanakiro, a village distant from Inonda, took no part, and on the other, heads of households which participated in the exchange were drawn from about 20 different clans. Households from Andiriha lineages other than those of the bride and groom did not contribute significantly more to, or receive significantly larger shares of, the payment than households of other clans.

583 602 The range of genealogical connections between the groom and heads of contributing households was extremely diverse and there was a similarly wide range of relationships in the recipient group. It is therefore difficult to determine with accuracy the extent to which genealogical relationships influence obligations between households and also the extent to which a particular type of genealogical relationship implies a particular degree of obligation. Adoptive relationships and distance between households appear to modify the extent to which genealogical relationships entail obligations.

583 621 Co-residence in a village may also have some influence. Some people, though not all, from each of Kakendetta, Hohota I, Hohota II and Urio villages contributed to the payment, but nobody from these villages received a share. On the other hand, no member of Mosou, Ajoro, Sewa or Jegerata - villages which received parts of the payment - made a contribution. Inonda was the only village in which there were both contributors and recipients. This may indicate that membership of a particular village was a factor determining the group with which a household was aligned and may

even have been sufficient qualification for admission to a group, 583
but without precise and comprehensive genealogical information
this cannot be asserted. It is possible, for example, that some 621
households could trace approximately equivalent but very distant genealogical relationships to both bride and groom, and that place of residence then determined the group with which they were aligned.

Williams (1930:137) describes a marriage payment typical of the 583
mid-1920s. It included no cash and the traditional valuable would 437
have been worth only $10.00 at 1962 prices. The traditional
valuables in the bride-wealth described here were worth about three 178
times as much and in addition $80.00 in cash was included. The people clearly regarded the cash as the most important component. Those genealogically and residentially closest to the groom contributed most cash; there was considerable formality associated with the payment of it; and in discussions of the bride-wealth the dominant topic was the cash component. The bride's father and brother received most of the cash but only a small proportion of the traditional valuables and they showed little interest in the latter. Households with lesser claims generally received items other than cash. The importance of traditional valuables in marriage payments has therefore declined markedly as a result of the introduction of cash to the economy.

Bibliography 113

Crocombe, R.G. and Hogbin, G.R., 1963. 'Land, work and productivity at Inonda', New Guinea Research Unit Bulletin No.2.

Williams, F.E., 1930. Orokaiva Society, London.

241 about one and a half miles (thirty-five minutes walk) from the village on part of the land known as Inota. They are planted contiguously: partly to keep the amount of clearing and pig fencing to a minimum and partly to ensure companionship while working in the garden (which may be related to the traditional but now unnecessary consideration of mutual protection). Because of this practice and for other reasons enumerated below many people have made their gardens on land in which their lineage has no proprietary rights. Each household has at least one garden which is currently producing and one recently planted but not yet in bearing on the Inota block. Three of the households have gardens (or are in the process of making gardens) on other Inonda lands (Eumo and Sesehauta) while three other households have made or are making gardens on land at Hohota village. Two of the latter are new gardens and they are situated about one mile from Inonda and the other, which is currently producing, lies west of Hohota village about 4½ miles from Inonda. Two other gardens made by Inonda people on Hohota lands in 1960 have now been abandoned.

The people say that in earlier times they made
special feast gardens to provide food for taro festivals, death
[621] feasts and other occasions. Feast gardens were often cleared
on a community basis by all the working members of either the
village or a sub-clan within it, but were then subdivided and a
section was allotted to each of the households for cultivation.
[574] The Administration has discouraged large scale taro festivals
and none has been held for several years. However when a man
from the village died during the survey, the members of his
family decided to make a feast garden on a piece of ground which
he had cleared just before his death.

We were shown two feast gardens, one made in 1953,
and the other in 1960. The precise boundaries of the one made
in 1953 are no longer recognizable, but the garden was apparently
[574] a very large one of five acres or more. It was made to provide
food for a feast held when refugees (from the Mt. Lamington
disaster) from Sewa and Ajoro villages left Inonda to return
home. The other feast garden, which is now abandoned, was
made at Hohota by a man who has no hereditary rights in land at
Inonda. He has three married daughters, two of them married

423 only permissive rights at Inonda or any nearby place. He has
241 been living at Inonda for some years on a temporary basis and
is dependent for gardening land on his relatives by marriage at
613 Inonda. He has also been loaned two pieces of gardening land at
614 Hohota, where he used to conduct a church school, and is
obliged to accept whatever land is made available to him. One of his gardens in Hohota is planted on land held by his mother's sister's husband's brother's son, and the other on the land of a senior deacon of the Hohota church.

Two other gardens with recognizable boundaries have been made amongst the main block of gardens. One was made in 1960 by an Inonda man who has since died, and the other by a man of the Jegotumo lineage (of the Andiriha clan) who was born in Inonda but now lives in Hohota village. The sub-lineage to which he belongs has rights to at least two areas of Inonda land. It was presumably to affirm his rights that he made a garden on one of these lands, for he does most of his gardening in Hohota, where his lineage has ample land. Inonda folk say that his rights in the Inonda land will 'live' while he or his son work the land and 'visit' the village (i.e. take part in appropriate village activities such as church celebrations, taro festivals, weddings and funerals). If he did not work the land, they say, then his sons (who are still small children) would not be entitled to make use of it.

423 Informants claimed that a man in need has the right
241 to make gardens on the land of the mother's brother though this
604 is exercised only if it is within walking distance of the planter's
village. The only instance noted was that of a man who began preparing a new garden on his mother's brother's land at Urio just after our survey was completed.

423 Hunting and foraging rights: Any primary member
614 of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans in Inonda can hunt or
forage on any portion of the Inonda land which is covered with
621 virgin bush, kunai grass, or second growth. Likewise any
224 villager may take such timber or firewood as he needs from the
[313] virgin bush, and although it is said that one may also take these

423 things from any area of second growth it appeared from our ob-
621 servations that people seldom took wood from second growth land
614 other than areas which they themselves had previously planted.
224 Permissive members of the sub-clans exercise the same hunting and foraging rights as primary members.
[313]

Contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans (or their husbands in the case of women), are entitled to hunt on Inonda lands, though they are expected to notify the villagers before doing so. Contingent members of the sub-clans do not in fact come to forage. During our stay one contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan and the husband of another came to hunt on several occasions. Both live in villages within two hours walk of Inonda. It is said that those from further away rarely come, and then only to acquire meat for an important feast.

423 On rare occasions, when they have inadequate meat
614 for a forthcoming feast which involves the whole clan, clansmen
628 from other villages come to Inonda and make a formal request
514 for permission to hunt there. They remain for several days and
224 hunt with the help of the local people, smoke the meat and then return home. The Inonda people are then invited to partake of the feast in the village which is holding the celebration, and will be given gifts of garden produce on their departure.

423 Only three Inonda men exercise hunting rights out-
614 side Inonda land. The first two are the members of the Jego'undi
224 sub-clan. They were given hunting rights to a piece of land which abuts the Inonda land to the south-east by their mother's brother shortly before his death. He lived in the adjacent village of Urio and had no children of his own. The other Inonda man with hunting rights outside the lands of the sub-clans is the councillor. He is the eldest surviving child of the previous sub-clan leader, and it also may be significant that he has attained a higher standard of education then any other member of the sub-clan. He was given hunting rights to a portion of land which abuts the Inonda lands to the south-west, by his mother's father who was also the man who gave him his name. The donor was an elder of the Tandai'undi clan of Ajoro village and made the

423 transfer at a feast shortly after the grandson finished his school-
614 ing. Along with the rights he was given the obligation to look
224 after the land and ensure that nobody else uses it. In fact, he
informs us, the only person whom he permits to hunt there is
his adoptive father.

423 All Inonda people, along with all members of the
224 Andiriha and Jego'undi clans who live elsewhere, claim the
right to hunt on the 'ancestral' land at Aramba. This right is
in fact seldom exercised, though the Inonda people say that they
have paid visits to Aramba on several occasions in recent years
to collect fruits and nuts, and have done a little hunting and
foraging during their stay.

During the dry season hunting drives are sometimes
held on the Inonda grasslands which are burned off for the
628 purpose. As a considerable number of people are needed to
undertake such a drive, neighbouring villages are invited to par-
ticipate in the hunt.

423 Fishing rights: For the purpose of fishing rights,
226 the Girua river is divided into sections, each of which is
621 associated with a particular local group. Rights to the section
running downstream from a point near the Inonda airstrip are
held by the people of Doboduru village. From Inonda airstrip
upstream to a point near the new Girua bridge, rights are held
by the Inonda people. Upstream from the new Girua bridge as
far as Hombere creek, rights are held by the Warau'undi clan
and thereafter sections are held by the Ajoro, Sewa and Bofu
people respectively. The boundary of each section of the river
is also the boundary of the surrounding land.

423 The Inonda portion of the river is held jointly by the
226 Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans and any primary member of
614 either sub-clan may fish there. Men who are secondary or
contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans, and the husbands
of women who are contingent members, have a limited right to
fish in the Girua river, for while they cannot fish there without

423 permission, custom does not permit of permission being withheld
226 unless the circumstances are exceptional. On two occasions
614 during our stay the river was fished by men married to
Andiriha women, and once by a contingent member of the
Andiriha sub-clan who lives at Hohota. No payment is made for
this privilege, not is any part of the catch given to the host
village.

423 On rare occasions Andiriha people from distant
226 villages have been given the right to fish in the Girua river to
628 obtain food to garnish a forthcoming feast. The procedure is
similar to that outlined for hunting under the same circumstances. Adjacent to the Inonda land on the north side of the Girua river is a government resettlement scheme. The settlers, most of whom are strangers to the area, sometimes fish in the river after obtaining permission from the Inonda elders. No direct payment is made but there are indications of other forms of reciprocity between the settlers and the village.

226 Rights to that part of the Sambogo river which flows
423 through Inonda are not held jointly by the sub-clans. There are
614 five divisions in the river, each of which is held by one or other
613 of the lineages. One particular pool is held by an individual,
[425] the sole surviving child of the man who is said to have acquired
rights to it by clearing the adjacent virgin bush and gardening
there. Since the Paru lineage died out the rights to their part
of the river have been taken over by the Joremba'embo. Men
often fish alone, but frequently take other villagers (not
● [621] necessarily of the same lineage) to fish with them. When a fish
drive is held during the dry season all the villagers fish
together.

The rights of secondary and contingent members in the Sambogo river are held only in relation to that particular part of it which is associated with the lineage to which they trace their relationship. One permissive member of the Andiriha sub-clan is allowed to fish in either of the places where his daughters' husbands have rights. Small groups of women sometimes fish in places where their husbands' lineages hold rights.

614 position will be insecure.

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578 The man who resides in the village by virtue of the fact that two of his daughters are married to Andiriha men has been invited to plant coffee in Inonda but he considers the risk of future dispute too great to do so. He is therefore planning to return to his village of origin to plant cash crops and has already begun clearing there.

The one man who has planted cocoa on Inonda land did so, not on his own lineage land, but on that of another lineage which has no adult members at present. But the mother of the children whose lineage holds primary rights to the land has objected strongly and has succeeded in stopping him from expanding his plantings. One other Andiriha man staked out land and planted shade for cocoa, again on the same land of the other lineage mentioned, but has been prevented from planting.(1)

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578 Partly as a result of the uncertainty of their tenure the villagers are again considering shifting the village site.(2) Several possibilities are being considered. Some wish to move to land held by an Andiriha sub-clan which lives at Hohota and which has close links with the Inonda sub-clan. These point out that they have no certainty of tenure for their cash crops on the existing land, whereas at Hohota there is land which is

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[591] (1) This dispute resulted from the fact that when the last adult member of the lineage died, his wife remarried and her new husband "adopted" her children. Those who moved onto the land reasoned that as the children had been adopted, the local branch of the lineage had died out and the land was available for use by any member of the sub-clan. The mother, on the other hand, claimed that the children would not inherit land from their adoptive father but from their born father. She won her point by threatening to complain to Native Affairs officers who, the villagers said, would undoubtedly have supported her.

[754]
[161] (2) This is not the only reason for moving, and the prevalence of sorcery in the present location is felt to be responsible for the supposed excessive death-rate. (There has in fact been a decline in population from 60 in 1949, to 49 in 1953, 45 in 1960 and 45 today). The Allied Geographical Section (1942, Appendix G) gave the population as approximately 120 in 1942, but the accuracy of this figure is in doubt.

423 the undisputed property of the Andiriha - albeit a different sub-
clan. The occupying sub-clan is said to be agreeable to the
621 shift, partly because one of the Inonda families originates from
166 a lineage of the sub-clan at Hohota. Another alternative is to
614 move to Ajoro, the "home" village of the Tandai'undi clan. The
578 Ajoro people are said to have invited them to come, and to have
offered them land on which to plant their food crops. Some felt that residence with the Tandai'undi would reinforce their existing hold on the land they at present use, but others fear that if trouble arose between them and the Tandai'undi they may have to leave.(1)

A further possibility which has been considered is for the village to split - the Jego'undi going either to Mosou to occupy the land given them by their mother's brother or to Urio to join their mother's lineage, the Andiriha who originate from Hohota lineage removing there, and the balance of the Andiriha, who have close kinship links with the Ajoro people, moving there to live. A final possibility is to remove the whole village back near their food gardens at Inonda I. The actual outcome will no doubt depend on the internal relations between villagers and the external relations between this village and the others in the vicinity.

614 The past history of the Inonda lands and the current
423 problems encountered with cash crop planting there indicate that
there are serious tenure problems at the sub-clan level. It
578 appears that the definition of sub-clan or village boundaries and
the rationalization of land rights in such a way that only one
clan, sub-clan or village has rights in any one area would be
[657] conducive to higher productivity and less dispute. The Native
[692] Lands Commission has the power to define boundaries and
rightholding groups on the application of any of the parties claiming rights in an area. But in fact there is one Native Lands Commissioner for the whole of the Northern District (with a population of 51,000) and he is required to do his own surveying, collection of genealogies and clerical work without

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(1) The people are clearly disturbed by the knowledge that the government survey recorded the Inonda land as "belonging" to the Tandai'undi.

241
472 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation,
he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his
592 gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and
423 profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult,
his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of
[578] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

472 D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan
241 (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan
and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a
464 total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour
[654] occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language
and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well
[466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with
its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is
[591] incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not
● [621] successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the
people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their
[602] children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

472 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by
654 government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

463 Seniority of birth. This seemed to be of positive significance
472 for entrepreneurs who based their operations on cash-cropping
(Crocombe 1967:5). It may possibly be of negative significance
for traders. Three of the four first-born sons fall into the least
successful category and the fourth into the middle category.

[462] Sex. All those in the sample are men with the exception of L,
who is the most successful of all. Her elder brothers were killed
in the Mt Lamington eruption and she says she is regarded by her
father as a son in many respects.

[614] Traditional leadership roles. The only position of traditional
leadership recognised today is that of sub-clan head. Only one of
[571] the entrepreneurs in the sample (E) was a sub-clan head, one was
the son of a sub-clan head and in other cases the relationship was
more distant. As most sub-clans contain only about two to ten men,
sub-clan leadership seems clearly to give no advantage in trading.
It may possibly be an inhibiting factor but we have no evidence on
this point.

463 Non-traditional leadership roles. It is to be expected that
472 Orokaiva entrepreneurs will hold responsible and respected positions in their community. The table below shows a positive
571 correlation between entrepreneurial activity and elective community
● 621 leadership roles. Seven of the twelve subjects hold such leadership
roles. A local government councillor represents over 200 people
(and one is president of a council serving about 10,000 people).
The co-operative chairmen are elected by some hundreds of people
and a church councillor represents about a hundred people.

Table 6

Elected positions of responsibility in the community

Elected position of responsibility	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J*	K	L
Local government councillor	'	'			'		'		'			'
Church councillor					'	'						
Chairman of Co-operative					'		'					
President of Women's Club												'
Total	1	1	-	-	3	1	2	-	1	-	-	2

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

Subject E, the only clan head in the sample, holds important elective posts as local government councillor, church president, and chairman of a co-operative society. He had also previously held paid positions carrying responsibility and authority and requiring initiative.

463 472 571 621 An examination of whether elective positions of responsibility were held before or after entrepreneurial activities commenced suggests that persons with leadership qualities already recognised by the community are more likely to engage in such activities.

Table 7

Time relation between entrepreneurial activity and elected position

Time elected	A	B	E	F	G	I	J	L
Before trade store opened	'	'	'	?	'	?		'
After trade store opened							'*	

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

The holding of an elective position of responsibility concomitantly with carrying on entrepreneurial activities is not necessarily an advantage to the entrepreneur. Several of the subjects had found that their community duties were time-consuming and interfered with their trading activities.

463 472 Household composition. It is impossible to say whether a large household tends to inhibit trading success but the data suggest that it may.

592 Group I subjects averaged 6.5 persons per household, group II, 5.75 persons and group III, 5.25 persons.

Many entrepreneurs complained that relatives, particularly older ones, took food and other items from the stores without payment but we have no measured data on this point.

Table 8

Size of household

A	8	E	5	I	10
B	3	F	4	J	3
C	10	G	5	K	6
D	5	H	9	L	2
Average	6.5		5.75		5.25

463 472 602 [366] Residence in or out of village. In traditional Orokaiva society members of a village or clan were bound together by a complex system of kinship ties and obligations (Williams 1930:335). Subsistence derives from the land and social security from the fulfilment of obligatory ties which bring reciprocal returns in times of sickness,

Table 18

Loans received

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A	$1,500 (land board)	E	-	I	$200 (from brother-in-law for store)
B	$178 (from younger brother for store)	F	-	J	-
C	-	G	-	K	$390 (from brother and share money for store)
D	$1,500 (land board)	H	$1,500 (land board)	L	-
	75%		25%		50%

Conclusion

463 472 444 Analysis of the three groups with respect to variables which may be classified roughly as economic and social reveals a degree of differentiation. The data do not enable firm conclusions on whether the different variables of themselves explain the relative success of the sample in trading activities.

The most successful group had fewer economic trees than either of the less successful groups, had considerably higher liquid assets, but fewer traditional valuables. They had more tools and equipment than the traders whose stores were closed, but fewer than the traders who, in this sample, can be classed as moderately successful.

The traders with highest turnover had been in operation for considerably less time than the other two groups, and their stores were more frequently outside the owner's home village. They had received more loans to assist with their stores, and fewer loans from the Land Board than either of the other groups.

[891] With respect to social variables the most successful traders
were younger than the other groups. Directly related to their
lower age was their higher level of education and their shorter
[554] experience of paid work. However, the positions they had held had
carried more responsibility and status than those held by the less
well educated, younger and less successful entrepreneurs.

● [621] They were as often elected to positions of community leadership as the least successful, though the moderately successful most often held such positions, and more often held more than one such position (an achievement never realised by the least successful traders).

423 614 This has been documented by recent research carried out in three Orokaiva areas: at Inonda by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:28), among the Yega by Dakeyne (1965), and at Sivepe by Rimoldi (1966:95).

[361] [241] Under the traditional Orokaiva tenure system most individuals have rights to several pieces of land scattered throughout the area claimed by the clan. Thus an individual often has to walk some distance from one food garden to another and he may have only a small area of land on each plot. These facts were significant in determining the attitudes of the Ombi-Tara people to tenure conversion (see Chapter 3).

An individual is considered to have a presumptive right to clear bush behind his plot in order to extend his planting, without consulting other members of the clan.

423 311 241 476 Clearing of bushland is often a community affair, with the lineage and sometimes the whole sub-clan co-operating, but planting is organised by individual households, with some reciprocal assistance from other households for specific tasks at irregular intervals.

Land use

241 311 The Orokaiva grow their crops using a system of bush fallow rotation - sometimes called shifting cultivation - which is common in many tropical areas. Newton (1960:81) describes it as a system under which land is cleared and cropped for two or three years, after which the cultivator allows it to revert to natural vegetation cover and shifts to a new garden. He may abandon land because depletion and erosion cause declining yields, but in many instances he does so because less labour is involved in clearing new land than in using old gardens where weed and pest species are established. Brookfield and Brown (1963:166) suggest that in the absence of fertilisers, capital equipment and improved techniques of agricultural production, no successful alternative to bush fallow rotation has yet been found for tropical agriculture.

Residence patterns

361 [592] [621] [614] The Orokaiva live in villages but each nuclear family usually occupies a separate house. In pre-contact times villages were large, probably because clan members clustered together for mutual protection (Williams 1928:155). However, in 1928 Williams noted a growing tendency for small groups to form independent settlements. Families sometimes lived 'for weeks at a time in their garden houses...no small distance from the permanent village.... Some families...settle permanently on the site of their distant gardens' (Williams 1928:129).[1] The present fairly large village appears to be a relatively recent return to the pre-contact pattern.

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[1] Native Regulation No.90 of 1922 stated: 'The practice of people abandoning their old homes in settled villages and scattering

Chapter 2

The Ombi-Tara conversion scheme

657 423 631 Two Orokaiva villages, Ombi (also known as Ombisusu) and Tara combined in the Ombi-Tara conversion scheme which was among the first to be promoted in the Northern District under the *Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance* 1963.[1]

[621] [614] Ombi and Tara contain two clans, *Mumu* and *Kuei*. The *Mumu* clan is concentrated in Ombi village and the *Kuei* in Tara. However, Ombi has three *Kuei* households and Tara has one *Mumu*.

At the time of our stay 178 people were living at Ombi-Tara. There were twenty households in Ombi, nine in Tara, and six on the converted blocks, close to the access road running between Ombi and Tara (see the conversion plan on p.12).[A]

Thirty-five of the forty-one resident adult males had applied or wished to apply for converted blocks; the remaining six were old men who said that they were too old to apply for blocks. Four of them had sons who had applied.

Cash cropping experience of the Ombi-Tara people

249 654 The Ombi-Tara people's experience with cash crops began when they planted some bush rubber seedlings after the first world war. They were encouraged by the Administration under Native Regulation No.121 (*Native Regulation Ordinance* 1908-30).[2] Although the trees were neglected for some years they continued to grow, demonstrating the suitability of the area for rubber (Mann 1954:35). After some time villagers began tapping the trees and selling the latex to a local planter.

383 654 In mid 1964 the Department of Agriculture suggested that the Ombi-Tara people should process their own latex with hand rollers and coagulating pans at first supplied by the Agriculture Department,

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[1] On the Ombi-Tara environment see Appendix B.[B]

[2] On village planting of bush rubber in what was then the Kokoda District see Rimoldi 1966:86-93.

A [See Category 102--Analyst]
B [See Category 133 pp. 49ff.--Analyst]

423 had rights.[1] Conversion has caused a redistribution of land rights,
311 with some people losing and others gaining land. Several men who
claimed they had less land after conversion than before said that
361 twenty acres was ample for their needs and that they were pleased
829 to give up some land to help their co-villagers.

There are indications that conversion at Ombi-Tara has facili-
657 tated co-operation between villagers who are planting cash crops.
423 Previously any man who wished to plant cash crops had to work with
182 little assistance, often in a relatively inaccessible area. Since
476 conversion has been introduced, the new road gives easy access to
all blocks and people are more easily able to help one another.

361 Paradoxically, conversion to individual holding of land appears
491 to have strengthened intervillage, interclan and interpersonal
co-operation and to have fostered a community spirit. Intervillage
657 co-operation is demonstrated by the establishment of a joint Ombi-
Tara bank account to purchase equipment for the bush rubber
423 processing unit, and by joint discussions on the nature of the
621 new tenure system. Interclan co-operation is seen in the leader
182 of the *Kuei* clan granting permission for the allocation of a block
on *Kuei* land to a man of *Mumu* clan. Interpersonal co-operation is
illustrated by the apparent willingness of large landholders to
give up all previously held land rights without receiving any
compensation, in order to enable all to take part equally in the
scheme.

657 The Ombi-Tara people are pleased and flattered that many people
423 visit and inspect the blocks. They heard that Ombi-Tara was men-
tioned on the radio and are happy that others ('people all over
182 Papua-New Guinea') should know of their experiment. When two
186 Australian friends of mine paid a short visit to Ombi they were
asked with expectant pride if they had heard of the Ombi-Tara
scheme in Australia. The leader of the *Mumu* clan said, 'We want
Ombi-Tara to have a big name like England, Japan, Hong Kong, Rabaul
and Lae'.

Publicity and information

657 Most Ombi-Tara people (82 per cent) said that they first heard
423 of the possibility of converting land to holding under individual
title after the visit of the Agricultural Officer in late 1963.
177 No one reported hearing first about conversion through Local Govern-
ment Councils, from the Anglican Mission, on the radio or through

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[1] The then District Agricultural Officer considered consolidation of fragmented holdings to be one of the main benefits that would emerge at Yega, the first tenure conversion scheme in the Northern District (Belfield 1962:1-2).

657 423 been at Ombi-Tara, in favour of briefer parties which distract less from market oriented activities.[1]

182 [829] There was verbal evidence at Ombi-Tara of further rejection of old customs since the introduction of tenure conversion. Informants often suggested that conversion marks the beginning of a new life - 'Before we were not using our land well but now we are changing everything and we will live better'. Several previous innovations in the Northern District have been greeted in like fashion (see Belshaw 1951:249, and Crocombe 1964a:29-32).

[622] [554] Leadership in the traditional societies of Papua-New Guinea is generally not inherited but achieved through personal excellence in economic and political organisation and the main activities of the society including a knowledge of land tenure arrangements. It [614] was decided by the members of the Mumu clan that their clan leader was too old to understand and adapt to the new land system. His son was not considered clever enough to succeed him and eventually the thirty-five year old son of the leader's brother was chosen as successor.

[621] The introduction of tenure changes tends to favour younger men who no longer need to defer to their elders for cash crop land. Tenure conversion at Ombi-Tara may also affect the balance of 'informal' authority in the area by altering the balance of land rights. Before conversion some individuals had rights to considerably [556] larger areas of land than others. This was of some significance in determining status and prestige. Since conversion, each individual has rights to twenty acres of land. The long-term effect of this equalisation on social organisation and informal status and prestige systems may be of some significance.

[614] [627] The functions of the clan leader are little changed by the new tenure system. As before, he has no jurisdiction over land held by individuals. He previously had limited authority to intervene if one man planted on another's land without permission and under the new system can prevent one man planting behind another's block. He is charged with preventing people from other clans or other areas planting on his clan's land in much the same way as before tenure conversion, with the difference that now his jurisdiction in this matter applies only to the clan land outside the blocks.

Obligations

571 Mutual assistance and mutual obligation patterns provide a system of social security, a form of institutional safeguard

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[1] Similar changes have been reported in another Orokaiva area by Crocombe (1966:71-2) and Hogbin (1966:81-3).

657 361 [363] 177 Before the eruption, a new type of village had been established in the Kokoda sub-district, consisting of a large village square of neatly clipped grass, with houses arranged in a single row along three sides of it. Although such villages have a monotonous regularity and lack of individual character, Europeans think of them as being æsthetically attractive, and they appeal to the administrative officer's sense of the fitness of uniformity in a well-ordered community. Attempts to introduce such villages in the Higaturu sub-district had largely failed, and the standard of housing was much lower. Further the people of this area tended to live in small clan-hamlets and resisted propaganda for them to come together into larger village groups. After the eruption, however, the general desire for new things, the sense of guilt at having resisted such innovations before, and a feeling of insecurity combined to make most of the people reconsider their earlier decisions. Although the move was not quite universal, by far the greater proportion of people decided to rebuild their homes in large village units situated close to existing or proposed jeep roads, and on administrative advice decided to follow the Kokoda village plan with substantially improved housing. Such a move raises numerous social problems.

621 613 [619] [101] The actual decision as to who should live together in a village group was by and large easy to make. Mr. Plant's enquiry, referred to earlier, showed that individual patrilineal clans are often segments of a maximal lineage, the other segments of which live in different areas, and this finding accords with Williams' material. But in a given hamlet there would be two or more clans, not segments of the same lineage; and a number of hamlets occupying neighbouring ground would be considered together as a single village-group. Sometimes the village-groups were combined as a large area-group. Thus we have the hamlets Pengipe, Isivita, Huworituru and Bosiseta combining as Isivita No. 1 village; Egaturu, Tambori, Koropata and Kiorata as Tambori village; and Kakita, Hamamuta, Pija and Popondota as Popondota village; and the village-groups of Isivita No. 1, Tambori and Popondota, together with separate hamlets of Barewaturu and Kombeturu constitute the area-group of Isivita No. 1. Just how far these groupings result from administrative practice we cannot tell, but it is fairly certain that they represent genuinely-felt units. This does not, however, necessarily apply to the combination of the area-groups into tribal groups. Though the people we are considering appear to be one in language and custom, and to regard neighbouring groups as somewhat different, they are vague as to an over-all group name. Williams calls this group the Wasida tribe; Plant considers the correct name to be Periho. Although I think Plant is more correct than Williams on this point, it seems to me that the people themselves do not attach much importance to such a name.

621 361 731 The village-group was taken by the people as the new unit of residence. The earlier hamlets would take a side or section of a side of the village square, each clan building its houses contiguously. This meant that the residential group increased in size from units of 20 to 100, to units of 125 to 400. Further, the village-groups were much closer together, sometimes now being in sight of each other along the

621 main road, or even facing each other on opposite sides of it. Although this is clearly
the wish of the majority of the people, it does not suit all of them. There is some
361 talk that it increases the danger of sorcery, and certain individuals fear that it will
731 mean an increase in the burden of responsibility of the village maintenance type.
Thus some hamlets have not joined in the general move, and others have split on the question. Another question that cannot be answered at the moment is, how far was the earlier hamlet system a result of tendencies towards violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements ?

It is of course one thing to say that a hamlet or village group has land in a new part of the country suitable for their migration, and quite another to say that each individual in the group will find such a move to be the best. Looking at the matter retrospectively, it is now possible to see that many of the answers given to administrative enquiries were framed to assure the authorities that all would be well if they left the refugee camps immediately; everything was subordinated to this end.

423 The inheritance of land is mainly patrilineal; but a man may work his wife's
land, and even, with the assent of her relatives, inherit a share in his mother's land.
613 This means that individual members of a clan, instead of inheriting land jointly
[428] from a common ancestor, often inherit and claim land in different parts of the country
through matrilineal or marital influences. A clan, however, lives together and its members work land near their residence. Because of influences which lie outside the direct patrilineal line, or because of fragmentation, the person who has senior authority over this land may or may not be the genealogically senior member of
[554] the clan. At any rate, he is given a special title, *enda mamo*, or "father of the
land." If the clan finds it necessary to move its residence, it will also probably move its land-use area. This involves a change in the balance of land authority and the emergence possibly of a new *enda mamo*. This has in fact happened in several of the new villages.

731 At the time of my visit to the area in April, it was confidently expected that
once the people started building homes on the new sites, all would be well. In fact
361 the situation is much more fluid and unsettled. The Putemo people, for instance,
who had moved to a site almost contiguous with the magnificent new village of Sairope, had not yet settled questions of garden land. The village site was given to them by the Sairope people, but this meant removing themselves several hours away from the old garden lands, and they had not worked out to what extent they could claim land closer to them. In many cases individuals, say of the Popota hamlet, would agree to move with the hamlet. When they started building their home or inspecting the ground the real consequences of the move came home to them: it was not then merely an academic question. They considered alternative sites—their own near other new villages, their wife's, and their mother's. Often too the wife, on her return from Ilimo, would have something fresh to say about choice of site. Moves and uncertainty were frequent and it may be months before the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed

121 January, 1951 and 1967), both in Sivepe and Inonda. In our treatment of the patterns of contact, we need to consider the following variables specified in the Barnett memorandum (1-C #1,2,3,4,5,6,7): role and status of persons involved in transactions, the occasions of contacts and transactions, their purpose, frequency, degree of formality, degree of affectivity, the fiduciary element present in the transactions, their locations; we have to specify how comprehensive the exchanges were (did they involve affinity, friendship?), who were the initiators and what view each of the partners in these exchanges took of the other. In dealing with every one of the categories of outsiders we must, in addition, inquire whether these categories are actually homogeneous; it will often be found that we have to differentiate within the categories. For instance, we have to look whether the Orokaiva distinguish between the different roles, statuses and ethnic origins of persons belonging to the category "taupa." The most convenient way of presenting these data will be by taking each of the 11 categories in turn, dealing with all the variables that seem appropriate to that category.

Section 2: Contacts with Closely Allied Villages

628 The concept of a "closely allied" village is a difficult
one: it is not often, in these days of peace, that a village
[621] really acts as a corporate unit, so that contacts between villages
tend to be, in actual fact, contacts between individuals in these
[571] villages who are linked by agnatic, consanguineal, affinal or
friendship ties. Out of such ties, inter-village contacts may
arise. For instance one village may give a feast for another
village and here the unit invited is definitely very often the
village; or one village may come to the aid of another after there
has been a death and bring food to all members of the bereaved
[764] village. The most significant inter-village contacts--those which
would occur in time of war when one village went to the aid of
another--could no longer be observed, but the ritual immediately
after a death resembled that customary when a village was attacked
by an enemy. The conch-shell was blown and the closely allied
villages would come to the aid of the bereaved one. Hardly anyone
would stay behind, if the death was in a really closely allied
village. Thus hardly anyone was left in Hohorita, with 400
inhabitants, when an old man died at Sombou which was a closely
allied village. On the other hand, if the link between two villages
is slightly less close, only those families with kinship or friendship
connections will go to the bereaved village. In order to be "closely
allied" in the sense just suggested, a village should be geographically
close (not much more than a mile away, in the cases of Sivepe, Inonda,

628 together, the church council, with representatives from all the
villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual
631 development occurring over the years under consideration; it will
731 be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards
under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions
[794] for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward.
It was characteristic of both the church and the government council
[797] organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas
with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages.
The church recognized two such divisions, the government council
three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries
[192] was a novel one (see Map IX).[A] It is beginning to have two kinds
of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages
within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish
(e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoge, which up to now have not
been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between
villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined
(e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied,
but now separated by administrative procedures).

These generalizations will be documented below; my task at
628 present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied
423 villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-
village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-
578 village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the
deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in
resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Awala, Kongohambo was that
if the people did not return to their land, some others might
decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them.
This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present
is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of
individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established.
The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and
[685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a
supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a
killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person
holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the
whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in
some detail.

Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the
423 ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara,
613 both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their
villages and settled down together in a village named Sambogo.
[621] Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the
Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by
Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was
given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi
owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda
[428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst]

628 position in the structure: they held, one might say, a dual
citizenship: effective citizenship in Sivepe where they lived,
and residual citizenship in Soroputa and Agenahambo (in the case of
one of them). Other Sivepe men held a similar kind of residual
citizenship in various Isivita villages, e.g., Kiorota, Bagevoturu
and others again in Awala, Koropata, etc. The marks of this
residual citizenship were in each case: residual land rights
(e.g., hunting and fishing rights, rights to the produce of certain
trees), regular visiting, clearly traceable kinship links in the
[621] patri- or matriline. In inter-village contacts we may therefore
distinguish two types of role: the leader and the ambassador.
The leader does not directly deal with the leader of another
village, except if he happens to have residual citizenship there.
Trust can be established only if the approach is made by a residual
citizen who, by implication, is offering tangible security (his
residual citizenship rights) for the truthfulness of his words
and the honesty of his intentions.

It is in the relations with places such as Soroputa and
Agenahambo that we can still see the traditional pattern of inter-village relations; within the Sasembata district itself, this pattern
has become slightly obscured by the development of new forms of
organisation under the influence of mission and government.
Nonetheless, even in the type of relations I have just discussed,
the pax Australiana has had its influence. If we survey the short
list of inter-village linkages between Sivepe and the more distant
parts of the Waseta "tribe" (and "more distant" effectively means
no more here than over four miles away), we notice that in pre-contact times, wars with Waseta and Isivita were reported. The
feast offered to Togahou by Sivepe in 1967 was an unprecendented
event; the persons who mediated between the two villages to arrange
the feast were descendants of war captives.

628 From the viewpoint of the present study, it is interesting
to inquire whether the eruption has had any effects that drew the
619 Waseta "tribe" more closely together. This question is complicated
[731] by the conflicting descriptions we have of Orokaiva "tribes." A
full discussion of the nature of Orokaiva "tribes" would be out
of place here. Rimoldi (1966: 29-37) brings forward some strong
arguments why a division into tribes, as attempted by Chinnery and
Beaver, and Williams, is a hazardous enterprise. I have already
stated my own opinion that the Orokaiva view of his social world
is a set of concentric circles of increasing radius. Thus, I would
agree with Williams that there is an area, comprising several
dozen villages, within which an Orokaiva practises what Williams
calls "intra-group morality" (1930: 311). Normally these several
dozen villages are those immediately surrounding the village of
[582] residence. Within this area, marriages are contracted, cannibalistic
raids do not occur and fights tend to involve comparatively little
[721] bloodshed. The circle of "intra-group morality" varies for every
[266]

177 The clearest example of this was in the computation of bride price.
436 As I mentioned, the Sivepe people, in calculating the value of bride price, translated all gifts of trade goods (clothes, kitchen utensils,
583 etc.) into money terms, speaking of a bride price of 72 pounds when the actual cash component was only $28. (The word "dollar" is well-known to Orokaiva but as yet imperfectly accepted in discourse as a unit of value.) Inonda, however, in calculating the value of bride price, went further and converted also the pigs, valuables and tapa cloths into money terms, as was described in Hogbin, 1966. Upon inquiring specifically whether the Inonda people calculated bride-wealth in this way, I found that Hogbin's presentation corresponded with the Inonda method of estimating. In other words, Inonda people spoke of a 100-pound brideprice, when the actual gifts were as follows:

Cash	$ 80.00
Household goods	13.00
Pig	60.00
Bark-cloth	9.75
Food	10.60
Traditional valuables	28.20
Total	$201.55

Sivepe people expressed some horror at the thought that this should be referred to as a $200 bride price; to them the gifts of pig, bark-cloth, food and traditional valuables were gifts of a special type that could not be equated with money. I asked one informant whether this was perhaps a modern trend; "not modern but silly," he replied.

177
184 This reply reminds us how hazardous it is to place a number of phenomena, found in different villages, on a unilinear kind of acculturation continuum. Nonetheless, I believe that the facts show some tendency for Sivepe to be more "acculturated" than Inonda, even though the differences are slight, and apply only to part of the Inonda population.

Section 12: Impact of External Influences on Community Organisation

184 One of the difficulties of our research design is that Sivepe and Inonda are of different population size, Sivepe having exactly
621 three times the population of Inonda (135: 45). Hence, the community organisation of the two villages would naturally differ for that
[614] reason alone. A second difference lies in the clan composition of the two villages and the changes in clan composition over the period under consideration. Pamba contained three clans: Sebo, Jegase and Timumu and modern Sivepe still contains roughly the same family alignment except that the members of the Timumu clan are now calling themselves

184 Jegase, thus making Sivepe basically into a two-clan village, into
which some recent Garombi immigrants remain to be integrated. Inonda,
621 in 1951, consisted of 13 houses of which nine were inhabited by
614 Andiriha, three by Jego-undi and one bachelor's house. In 1966,
there were only seven houses, only one of which was occupied by
Jego-undi. Hence, Inonda has almost ceased to be a two-clan village
today.

571 I have written at length about modern Orokaiva leadership
elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1967) and shall do little more here than summarise
the conclusions already published. The scope and range of Orokaiva
leadership has always been small, except for the heads of extended
families (okose) who had a very wide scope of authority. Each village
had a set of experts who had unquestioned authority in their sphere
of expertise. Examples are the medicine man, the hunting expert,
[554] dancing expert and some others. One of these experts, the feasting
expert, is in fact the man of highest status in the clan or village
[622] and may be called its leader. A clan leader may take responsibility
for such corporate actions as a modern clan performs, e.g., raise
[614] bride price for one of its members. Except in these circumscribed
situations, he is esteemed and respected rather than obeyed. The
village leader, in a multi-clan village, is usually the leader of
the largest clan. In dealings with other villages, he is the man to
whom most respect must be paid; it is here, and when acting as a
feasting leader, that he most closely approaches the role of power-bearer. Even so, the Orokaiva word for "feasting leader" is pondo
kiari embo, i.e., feasting expert, and in explanation of his role
informants always stress that it is based on expertise rather than on
a more diffuse concept of status. I also found, after inquiring in
Inonda, Hohorita and seven villages in the Sasembata district, that in
fact the fathers of all these feasting leaders had occupied the same
positions. Nonetheless, informants always denied that the office
was inherited; rather, the fact of succession was explained by the
transmission of the necessary knowledge from father to son.

621 Australian domination added at once the role of village constable
to this somewhat acephalous pattern. One gathers from Monckton that
622 the village constable was chosen on the assumption that he had been
625 the traditional leader. How often that assumption was justified I
do not know. In Inonda, he certainly was the Andiriha clan leader.
614 In Sivepe, the situation was more complex. Until about 1939, Sivepe
had no village constable of its own, but an Awala man was village
constable for a wide area centred on Awala and including Sivepe. The
first and only Sivepe village constable was a man now baptised under
the name of Samuel but then called Jovareka. Jovareka appeared as
witness to prove the innocence of two Sivepe men (from the Seho clan)
who had been accused of murdering a small boy from Awala. He showed
successfully that the village constable had trumped up a charge against
the two Sivepe men and the government appointed Jovareka village
constable in his place. Later, Jovareka's area was reduced to a more

621 manageable size. Jovareka was definitely not a hereditary leader in
Sivepe; in fact, he was not even born there. On the other hand, the
622 two men he saved belonged to the leading family of the Seho clan,
625 which is the dominant clan of Sivepe. In the circumstances, the law
of reciprocity demanded that the Seho clan backed Jovareka as a suitable
614 man to be village constable. His status was accordingly greatly
enhanced.

The scope of his role, however, may easily be exaggerated.
625 According to Samuel, he was put through a course of training of one
day. He was told about how to take a case to court and how to get
and give evidence. He was told not to belt anybody, but handcuff
them. He had to check that houses were built properly, that sago
roofs were replaced and lavatories built. He also had to see that
the men cut the grass in the village and the women swept, and that
the road built by the government was properly maintained. Each
village had its own stretch of road to look after, and this was subdivided
into sections for each of the men. This summary tallies
[364] with the statements of other informants. We note that some of the
included items (such as the women sweeping the village, the replacement
of old sago roofs) are traditional activities and hardly required
police supervision. Other of the included items, such as the building
of lavatories, remained a dead letter until after the eruption, and
it was not until 1965 that all houses actually had lavatories.
[754] Furthermore, it is only now, with the fear of sorcery diminishing under
the impact of Christianity, that anyone would dare to use a lavatory.

I asked Samuel whether he had ever handcuffed anyone or had
anyone jailed. No, he had never used the handcuffs. He had never
brought anyone from Sivepe to court. He had sent people from other,
surrounding villages to court. Tax was never collected past Sangara
in his day, he said, implying that his record would not have been so
serene if he had had to collect the head tax. Two Sivepe men had
actually been taken to court during his period of office, but not by
him; it was done by a visiting patrol, for not tending the roads, but
they were let off as they had just returned from a period of plantation
work. Other Sivepe informants told me that the village constable made
little difference to the way of life of the people and this must, I
[627] think, be conceded. Nonetheless, Samuel was evidently called in as
a mediator in quarrels in other villages and due to his influence,
some cases went to court.

The evacuation camp seems to have placed a heavy burden on the
625 village constables as they were the middlemen between government and
731 the village people, responsible for the distribution of food and
supplies and the setting up of village organisation in the camp. The
camp consisted in fact of a number of villages, closely together, in
which the village constable was much more in charge than he ever had
been. Permission to go back to the home area to check whether possessions
had remained undisturbed and to collect food, also had to be
given through the village constable who was put in charge of all such

471 well as cash crops. The clan or village has overriding rights to the product only when a feast is being held; at such a time, people are encouraged to make extra plantings and are expected to donate what has been grown in excess to their own requirements. Such donations are represented as "voluntary" by informants.

471 241 621 The second type of organisation is that brought about by the Australian government's insistence on the planting of village quota's of rubber and coconut. Here, as I explained, an undivided area was planted by "all" members of the community, and the product appropriated by individuals on a sort of roster system. The land remains owned by the individual who made it available and it will revert to him when the trees die off. It is only the trees that are "communally" owned. There is no traditional precedent for this kind of arrangement.

471 241 427 The third type is that described on the preceding page. For this system, the selected plot of land is divided into sections called *tane*. This is common procedure also when subsistence crops are planted. Each *tane* is then *lent* to a person who will plant coffee or rubber there. This lending of *tane* is likewise traditional; a man described how his sister, after a quarrel, came back to Sivepe (she had married out) and he at once gave her a *tane* from his new garden to look after. The only difference, in the case of tree crops, is that the *tane* is lent out for a longer period, in fact as long as the borrower continues to harvest the trees (regularly). No new "communal" coffee plots of this sort have been established in Sivepe for many years; there was, however, such a plot allocated to rubber around 1964, as I have described. It was called a "company" and the agricultural officer told me that the government did not like supporting these "companies," preferring development of "individual holdings."

474 245 In the neighbouring village of Sasembata, where a rubber cooperative was set up, a new variant developed in 1967. This was also called a "company;" its main asset was a small factory for processing the rubber. The "company" was also allocated a plot of land, owned by a village man, where trees were planted by a work group, with the intention of tapping and selling the rubber *for the benefit of the company*--there was some talk of saving up for a truck to cart the rubber and other village products. In addition, villagers planted trees on their individual land and rubber harvested from that land would be processed at the factory and proceeds would go to the grower. This scheme met with some sturdy opposition from the agricultural officer. The fear of the administration was always: cargo cults, communism, fraudulent accounting. Four Sivepe men were actively occupied for some weeks on helping to build the rubber factory. They also contributed $10 membership fee. Members were drawn from all villages closely related to Sasembata.

474 443 Cooperative principles were also not infrequently followed in the setting up of trade stores. Rimoldi (1963) reported one such venture, involving 11 villages and centred on the Sasembata mission station. The savings seem to have totalled $60 from each of 12 clans,

474 plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establish-
443 ment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation
between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the
mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963:
107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase)
evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe
and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of
someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan
to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the
idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase
clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one.
It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timmup clan, to
which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

454 In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People
had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but
621 it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no
chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans.
One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is
probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966,
when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money
home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a
meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later
investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for
the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was
clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained
$158.

471 The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular
arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the
439 Embi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some
vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta.
In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers.
The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had
become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The
carrier was an affine.

571 Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-
eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on
[554] two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by
Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could
[177] sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare
instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought
to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values.
They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as
a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted)
654 but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The
people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita werevery much aware that the
571 position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village
623 constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach
the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

657 to buy, but there was no agreement on the price. Thus the thefts seem to be a stratagem to get Dapari to agree to a lower price.

731 423 [578] [628] The first lesson we may draw from this example is that evidently, resettlement villages are liable to be unstable unless the resettled group has solid land rights close to the village. Thus, the resettlement of a group of Garombi people in Sivepe in 1966 may well be stable because these people own land within a one-mile radius from Sivepe. But the resettlement of Dapari people in Mumuni was unstable because the Dapari land was more than one mile away. In fact, the distance between Mumuni and the Dapari lands could not have been much above two miles, but this is still too far for subsistence gardeners. It is therefore clear why Sivepe people did not agree to stay at Awala after 1951: their land was between two and four miles away from Awala, and this was regarded as an excessive distance. In the light of the events at Mumuni, we would be wrong to regard this attitude as "traditional" and "opposed to modernisation;" it was a shrewd assessment of the drawbacks of resettlement villages.

657 731 In the first phase of resettlement, the government took a predominant part. Before evacuees could leave Ilimo, they had to agree to resettlement in one of a number of villages which were to be developed according to modern principles. The government took pains, however, to work out the details of resettlement in consultation with local Orokaiva leaders. Nonetheless, arrangements such as the sending of the Jegase of Isivita to Kongohambo, in the hope that they would be helped by local Jegase clan groups, were not based on a realistic assessment of the possibilities. This agreement was easy to get as it was seen to be a necessary condition for leaving Ilimo camp. Resettlement plans were thus imperfectly adapted to the traditional relationships between the groups concerned.

621 731 657 In the second phase of resettlement, many of the groups allocated to the scheduled list of resettlement villages branched off to villages of their own. This process started almost at once and continued for more than five years. I have already stated that in Sivepe this phase--the withdrawal from Awala--took place in the years 1951-1952, while at Hohorita, Bagevaturu, Kiorota, Seva, Dapari it happened a good deal later. In this second phase, the participation of the government was much less active. In Sivepe, a patrol officer made a decision as to the site of the village and the groups to be contained in it but this was only after half the people had already lived in Pamba for some time and a quarrel with neighbouring Kongohambo had broken out, and when the Seho people were returning to the area.

The history of the settlement of Kiorota and Bagevaturu may be traced from a file of the Department of District Administration, Popondetta (12-3-2A). As already mentioned, the Isivita evacuees, numbering 1,860, were "re-established" in the resettlement villages of Kongohambo and Koipa. Soon disputes began to arise owing to the insufficiency of land--villages such as Sivepe could give only limited help in the way of lending gardening lands and marauding pigs were

621 another source of annoyance. Some village groups requested permission
to move from Koipa and this was granted. A report on the file refers
657 to the clearing of new gardens South of Koipa (end 1956), but in
731 May, 1959, we read that these persons who left Koipa had "over the
last 18 months split into two groups one of which settled at Bagevaturu
and the other at Kiorota." The villages had been laid out (according
to "modern" principles, as I myself observed), gardens and garden
houses established, coffee planted. Government supervision over these
movements was much less strict than it had been in 1951, though
strictly the village sites ought to have been approved before the
villages were built.

657 This second phase of resettlement became possible because the
first phase was not accompanied by any renunciation of land rights,
731 or foreclosure of the possibility of return. At no time did the
resettled groups give to anyone else a permission to occupy vacated
423 lands nor accept payment for any of their land or its products. After
245 this second resettlement, however, one substantial land tenure problem
remained. The nature of this problem is the second lesson to be
drawn from the example of Dapari tenure described above. The traditional
Orokaiva land tenure system is not well-adapted to cash cropping.
The Dapari people are likely to lose their coffee plantations as a
result of tenure difficulties. Likewise, Crocombe and Hogbin believe
that the failure of several Inonda families to plant coffee is due to
tenure difficulties. The Inonda families who did plant coffee were
careful not to do so on the extensive land holdings which they inherited
from maternal relatives because they feared claims that might otherwise
[428] be made by maternal kin. The fact is that a large proportion of
Orokaiva land is held on a legal basis much more complex than patrilineal inheritance. When an Orokaiva holds land he has inherited from his father, both he and his father having continuously resided on the land, that man is indisputably the owner and he can grow coffee or rubber on that land without fear of interference. We have already seen that no Inonda land is held in this way. In Sivepe, most men have some land of which they are indisputably the owners, but at the same time most of them also have useholds over many pieces owned by maternal kin or affines or absent agnates. They are "looking after" this land, and the true owners never trouble them as they either have their own usehold lands in the villages where they live or are working in towns or on plantations.

These circumstances change as soon as cash-producing trees begin to be grown. It is then that claims begin to be asserted and Orokaiva customary law has no way of dealing with such claims. The owner is certainly entitled to a share of the proceeds, and the size of that share is dangerously indefinite.

Inquiry in Sivepe showed that the people were well aware of the danger. All but two coffee growers had planted on land inherited from their fathers, preferring to use their other lands for subsistence crops. One of these two exceptions was the Seho clan chief who had

CHAPTER VIII: Selection of Emigrants

731 At the time of the eruption, the whole of the population fled from the volcano; those who wished to stay behind were persuaded to leave by village constables when the area surrounding the mountain was declared "restricted" by regulation. The whole of this population, of the affected villages was placed in evacuation camps and, in general, it was again the total population of the pre-eruption villages that was transferred to the resettlement villages established in and after May, 1951.

621 657 Recruitment to these villages was therefore non-selective and by government order. The amount of land available at the new location and the clan affiliation of the groups relocated were the main criterion in allocating particular groups to specific resettlement villages. The allocation was done by a government officer who took into account the preferences expressed by community leaders as between the alternative resettlement villages available. It is hard to say at this stage just how much self-selection occurred, but the evidence suggests that in 1951 there was a very limited amount of self-selection. The situation in the camps was a very disturbed one. Undoubtedly, when two groups joined together and told Mr. Kaad that they wished to form a village together, Mr. Kaad would agree to this, but a heavy burden of decision fell on the government. After 1951, a good number of relocated groups founded new resettlement villages, mostly with prior government permission. In these later settlements, self-selection played an important part.

361 [628] When self-selection of resettlement sites occurred, the following were among the reasons for choice, as is demonstrated from evidence at Sivepe and Hohorita: proximity to land to which the group has good title; greatest possible distance from hostile groups from which aggression and sorcery may be feared; closeness to groups with which a historical connection exists. The Hohorita people, though from a wide range of clans, all have their origin in a fairly compact cluster of Sangara villages. This has kept them together as a reasonably solidary village. In Sivepe, we witnessed the exodus from Awala, because of land problems; the exodus from Pemba, because of troubles with neighbouring Kongohambo, to a place one mile removed; and more recently, the exodus of small groups from Binduta and Garombi, in both cases on the basis of historical affiliation. In the case of the Binduta families, this was an agnatic or clan linkage; in the case of Garombi, the links are far more complex and will be discussed under the heading of "Internal Influences."

621 The village group was the organisational unit of settlement. No larger cohesive group exists among the Orokaiva, though some resettlement village groups were much larger than pre-eruption ones.

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Groups smaller than a village were rarely resettled because the government placed almost total reliance on village constables for leadership roles. Piecemeal removal would have left some people without the leadership of a village constable. While the people would probably have managed quite well without him, the government could not have controlled such a group. In any case, the close cohesion of Orokaiva village groups was almost the one element of stability that was left immediately after the eruption and evacuation. The simplest administrative policy was the one actually followed, namely to leave the village groups undivided.

The factual data on emigrant allocation have been given in previous chapters.

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PART II: INTERNAL INFLUENCES

CHAPTER I: Size and Distribution of Relocated Community

Section 1: Statement of the Problem

121 This report is intended to answer one general problem: what has been the effect of collective evacuation and resettlement upon one Orokaiva community (Sivepe) directly affected by the eruption of Mount Lamington. In order to establish this effect, we are studying Sivepe as well as a control community (Inonda) that was not evacuated and resettled. In the first part we have made one assumption which obviously can never be accepted without question and which, in fact, we shall find to be partly false: namely, that the two communities can be regarded as homogeneous. We have tended to speak of "Sivepe" and "Inonda" as though internal variability could be ignored. At the same time, I did stress at various points that I thought one of the differences between Sivepe and Inonda might be that in Sivepe acculturation had proceeded relatively homogeneously whereas in Inonda the range of variation was wider.

A hypothesis of this sort can be tested only by a systematic study of internal variation in the two communities. In this and the following chapters I shall introduce a number of classificatory principles, commonly used in social anthropology. After classifying individuals in Sivepe and Inonda by these principles, I shall be able to compare the two communities in respect of internal patterns. The first principle to be chosen is that of spatial arrangement. Closely associated with this are the principles by which the Orokaiva themselves view their communities as subdivided into bounded social groupings. My procedure will be, first, to state what are the Orokaiva principles of classification, which apply to both communities alike. Secondly, I shall set out how the two communities under consideration can be classified according to these principles and in what respects they exhibit similar or dissimilar patterns. Where patterns are dissimilar, an explanation for the differences will be attempted and I shall consider whether the post-eruption experiences may have been a factor.

Section 2: Spatial Arrangement

621
361 The Orokaiva concepts connoting residence units that may be found in a village are mainly three: da--village, bande--house an

361 *bende*--"side" of a village. The term *da* is applied to the total set
of houses built in a single jungle clearing. The layout of a *da*
621 usually resembles that given in Maps V-VIII.[A] There is an empty space
in the centre, which is faced by houses, usually arranged in something
[364] like parallel rows. The centre is called *araha*.. In the traditional
village there is an area, immediately surrounding the *da* which is
given over to sorcery and where the rubbish is thrown. This is called
isapa, a word also meaning "small" and it is indeed only a narrow
strip, outside which the village gardens begin. The word *da* is applied
equally to a large village and to a settlement of two or three houses,
as long as it has the features mentioned. The house or *bande*, if it
is a permanent dwelling, is part of a *da* and mostly is placed on one
of the two sides or rows (*bende*), though as the village plans show,
houses are also built to complete the rectangle.

The ridgepole of a house tends to be erected along the line
361 made by the row or *bende*. The floor plan is rectangular, as shown in
342 Diagram XII.[B] The long side of the rectangle faces the *araha* and the
door is usually in front in the centre. The house tends to be divided
into two halves, a front half and a back half, the division being a
wall built directly below the ridgepole. The front half tends to be
a space where people sit and talk and where visitors come in the
evenings, while the back half, containing the sleeping rooms, is
rather more private and not usually for visitors. The back portion is
often divided into two separate rooms. I have already referred briefly
to some buildings that are not residences: the small ceremonial meeting
places that are called *atara* in Sivepe, *jataka* in Hohorita or by either
name in Inonda; the lavatories, the chickencoops (very often, indeed,
the same structure); the feasthouses and visitors' sun shelters, which
are temporary; and the women's club houses which are a novelty. None
of these are usually placed in the regular rows, though sometimes
meeting places are built next to the house of the owner.

Villages are rather compact, the houses being built at a
361 distance of nine yards, and this distance is precisely measured in the
[177] Australian spirit of military regularity. Everyone is always within
easy shouting distance of everyone else; nothing in the village goes
unheard, unobserved. The two "sides" are under constant observation
of one another. Movement between the houses of one side is much less
conspicuous, however, than the act of crossing the *araha* to go to
the other side. One never does this unless one has a serious reason.
Movement between houses of the same side occurs continuously for
ordinary gossip.

Inonda formed one *da* after some battles early in the century
361 (Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 14-15); at the time of the eruption there
731 was one *da* with 48 people and the village stayed together, with a slight
decline in population (to 45 in 1962 and 41 in 1967) and a decline in
628 the number of houses from 12 in 1950 to eight in 1962 and seven in
1967. When the Sewa people joined Inonda after the eruption, they did
not actually, according to informants, live in the same *village* as the

A [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 5-End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 11(A)-End Map 11(B)--Analyst]

361 Inonda people. They built a *da* of their own at a very short distance
731 from Inonda; both these *da* were very close to the airstrip and
abandoned now. Although these two *da* were less than a hundred yeards
628 apart, they were still two socially distinct units. It sometimes
happens, as in the case of Hohorita, to which I shall return, that
two such contiguous villages are later joined together into a single
one, but this is a deliberate act, involving the slashing down of the
intervening brushwood and, ideally, also the removal of houses which
would run through the centre of the combined village. If Sewa people
had taken up permanent residence in Inonda, such fusion would have
occurred, no doubt, but instead they went back to their own land.

621 Sivepe, with its present composition, goes back in time no
further than about 1948 when the village Pamba was built, combining
361 an older Sive and a now defunct village Pusahembo. The census list
current at the time of the eruption still shows the population of the
[162] two villages separately, though in fact they had already fused.
(Sive 58, Pusahembo 41) I do not know how many residential units there
were then, but in Old Sivepe, in 1962, 23 were counted, plus one
belonging to the anthropologist. At that time, the population was
120. When I arrived in Sivepe, the new village was only partly
completed. Some people lived in new houses; some had not yet built
or finished their new houses, but had shifted their old houses from
the old to the new village. Others again were still domiciled in the
old village, but had declared their intention to start building in the
new one "soon." At the time of my arrival, six of the houses in the
old village were still inhabited; nine months later, this number had
dropped to three, two of the houses being inhabited by widows living
alone, while the head of the sole remaining family had almost completed
[231] his house in the new village. At the time of my arrival, a good number
of the village pigs were still being kept in the old village (these
animals being rigorously barred from the new one) but by the end of
my stay, these pigs had all gone to the bush. New Sivepe, at that
time, had 25 dwelling units, plus the one rapidly nearing completion.
The total number of dwelling units included in the study (28) accommodated
137 people. There was occasional discussion of further increments in
the population, as families from Garombi were considering moving in
and would have been welcomed.

361 At no time since the eruption did Sivepe exhibit rigorously the
village plan that was regarded as ideal. In Old Sivepe 18 out of 23
houses were arranged around the *araha* in standard fashion, while another
five houses had been built outside the village proper, along the old
[426] jeep road, separated from the rest of the village by a gully. The
land on which Old Sivepe was built was lent by three individuals from
different kinship groups; residents chose their house site irrespective
[423] of their possible ownership of land on the village site. On the other
hand, the five houses built outside the village proper were all on
land owned by the residents. Though some of these houses were as
much as four chains away from the village proper, they were still

361 Comparing Inonda and Sivepe, we notice that Inonda follows more closely the spatial arrangements that are considered ideal for modern villages, but that Inonda has remained static in size for a number of decades. Sivepe shows irregularities in spatial arrangement, but has rapidly increased in size in accordance with Australian ideas of village development. The fusion of 1948 doubled its traditional size, while a lineage and a local clan group were added since. These increments have as yet been imperfectly absorbed.

Section 3: Social Groups

Within a village, two kinds of kinship group larger than the
621 elementary family may be distinguished, namely the javo wahai (clan)
592 and the hae (lineage, or plant emblem group). We may also distinguish
two kinds of residential group, the occupants of a bende or side and
616 of a bande or house. On the nature of the clan I shall be brief here,
reserving detailed documentation for my doctoral dissertation. It
614 seems to me mainly a political unit, held together by--in some but not
all cases--belief in common descent from a single patrilineal ancestor,
by the common name (javo) by which they call themselves and which they
call out when slaying an enemy or a pig or in other moments of great
stress, by the recognition of obligations towards and claims upon
others who bear the same clan name. Rimoldi (1966: 33) is right when
he calls the Orokaiva clan "only a social category."

The word hae means "plant emblem," but the word is also used
613 to denote collectively all persons sharing the same plant emblem.
The clan name (javo wahai) is transmitted only patrilineally, but the transmission of the hae is more complex. A person regards his hae, which may be any plant or part of a plant, or another natural substance, as a part of his own identity. He may respect it in the manner of a totem but such avoidances seem always to have been to some extent a matter of personal choice. (Williams, 1930: 127-218) The hae is used in a number of social contexts as a mark of identity. Williams seemed to believe that a hae was the distinguishing mark of a clan, but later investigators (Crocombe and Hogbin, Rimoldi) take it to be the distinguishing mark of a lineage.

It is indeed true that when a man has a certain hae his children will also use it. The children will also, on occasion, use the hae of their mother, especially when they are on the land of their maternal kinsfolk. There are other, more idiosyncratic forms of inheritance: one man uses the hae of a hereditary friend when he is on the land which passed into the possession of his family through that friend. Normally, maternal hae are not inherited further; no person uses the hae of his mother's mother, or of his father's mother. In these circumstances it is reasonable to assume that a man who has the same hae as oneself is of the same blood. This is not to be understood

613 in terms of a rigorous genealogical model, which is unfamiliar to Orokaiva, but in the sense that both are identified with the same plant or substance and thus very closely akin.

While clan affiliation is, in practise, determined by political [614] considerations, and a person may decide, upon calculations of family advantage, to assume a new clan name, the hae is utterly unpolitical and hae affiliation is a better indication of true blood relationship than membership of the same clan. In the hae, but not the clan, a kind of hierarchical classificatory principle may be found. To explain this, I should first point out that most informants I interviewed had at least four hae, two paternal and two maternal ones, and not infrequently I recorded as many as three paternal hae, and a total of five. Many people, when using a hae as a mark of identity, for instance on the road, to show they had been there, would actually use two hae plants. For instance, almost everyone in the district used the hae called sasaha (a grass), but if another hae, tandere, was added, a person finding these signs would be able to identify the owner as one of a quite limited group of people. For the purpose of this discussion, I shall use the word hae as meaning such a combination of emblems which sufficiently define identity. Such a combination of hae never defines an individual or even an extended family as usually several extended families share the same combination. But the patrilineal units thus defined are always smaller than a clan. To this extent, earlier authors are thus justified in calling them "lineages." It would be wrong to suppose, however, that the same combination of hae cannot be shared by fellow villagers belonging to different clans, for this is often found. Thus, those translating the word hae as "lineage" should be careful to avoid the implication that such "lineages" are segments of clans.

The population of Sivepe is very hard to classify into hae because I noted 42 hae in use, only 11 of which were shared by at least four adults. Nonetheless, the fact that two persons share a hae is often a valuable clue pointing to a close relationship that is of considerable social significance, but that might otherwise be [621] ignored as idiosyncratic. By far the closest bond that can exist between the members of different extended families is that they share [582] both a clan name and common hae. When such a bond exists, rules of exogamy are stringently enforced. These rules also apply, but less stringently, if two persons share the same clan name, but no hae, or if they share a hae but no clan name.

For our present purpose, it will be most convenient if we 614 classify Sivepe households according to the clanname of that person in 621 the household who is what Fischer (1958) has called the "sponsor," i.e., the person by whose presence in the household the residence of the family in Sivepe can be explained. On that basis, 13 households and the bachelors' house may be classified as Jegase, eight households as Sebo and six as Sorovi, as in the first half of 1967. It is desirable, however, to observe how rapidly this pattern of clan

614 affiliations has changed. In 1962, when Rimoldi did his survey of the
community, not a single Sorovi family had arrived. Moreover, he
621 showed four residences and one bachelor's house as attached to the
Timmu clan, a clan name that was not quoted to me. The same families
still inhabit Sivepe (except for one old man who died) but they now
call themselves Jegase. (This fusion between Jegase and Timmu
occurred, to my knowledge, only between the Sivepe local clan groups.)
In 1962, Jegase had eight residences and one bachelor's house, so that
the overall pattern in these four years has remained much the same
except for the fusion of the clans. Bachelors of the enlarged Jegase
clan shared one bachelors' house in 1967, seeing that the clans had
[731] been joined. The major change between the time of the eruption and
1962 was the migration of three families from Binduta to Sivepe, all
classified as Jegase in 1962. Just as it was possible to change the
clan name of the entire Timmu group by a simple decision of the two
local clan groups, so also it was possible to change the clan name
of individuals simply as a way of emphasising common loyalties which
developed out of a combination of cognatic links and contingent
circumstances. (This pattern is characteristic of New Guinea patrilineal clans in many areas and has been discussed recently in an
excellent paper by J. A. Barnes, 1967.)

361 One striking characteristic of the village layout of New Sivepe
is that all the Seho houses are grouped together on the same bende
614 while the other benda of the main village is entirely made up of
Jegase houses. Sorovi, the clan which migrated to Sivepe from Garombi
616 shortly before my arrival, has mainly settled along the brow of the
hill behind the village, probably partly because that area happens to
be owned by a Sorovi man (who continued to live in Garombi), so that
in case of a quarrel, nobody could question their right to build on
that land. The other houses on the brow of the hill were built by
Jegase people who preferred to keep out of the regular two-line
system. People often talked about their intention to build all the
houses along the two regular lines eventually.

The basic structural feature of New Sivepe was this dualism,
expressed in the division between two "sides" each comprising one clan.
This kind of village plan has been studied in much detail by Lévi-Strauss
[582] under the term "diametric structure" (1958: 150). An essential part
of this structure is that each side is exogamous but that the two
[601] sides intermarry with one another. It is thus in Sivepe where people
living along the same side address each other always by consanguineal
kin terms whereas people living on the opposite side tend to be addressed
by affinal terms, with the obvious exceptions. The reserve and
formality observed when people cross the araha to go to the other side
is easily explained when it is remembered that on the other side they
will meet affines.

It will be noted that this pattern is very much less clearly
discernible in Old Sivepe where the two-clan system was not yet worked
out. On the other hand, I have found it in several other resettlement

361 villages (Garombi, Soroputa, Hohorita). When New Sivepe was built it
had become a familiar procedure and was simply copied from other villages.
614 It is an interesting adaptive institution, and the Orokaiva answer to
616 Australian pressure towards the building of multi-clan villages.
Belshaw clearly stated the problem that was involved: "How far
[177] was the earlier hamlet system the result of tendencies towards
violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such
tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?"
(1951: 246) It can now be seen that diametric structure was the
Orokaiva answer to this danger of violence and strife. While affines
were separated by the araha, the araha was widened so it could be
used as a playing field, as happened at Sivepe but by no means in all
the villages.

614 Rimoldi classified the Jegase clan into four lineages (Berekipa,
Sesewopa, Arehu, Bebehupa) and one extinct lineage (Hambai). He
613 further distinguished two Timumu lineages (Hajejopa, Pekuma), which
should now be added to the Jegase list. Certainly, each of these
six groups have common plant emblems not shared by the others; the
lineages are therefore each part of a distinctive plant emblem group.
Families of the same plant emblem group make no particular efforts
to reside close together; the social functions of "lineage" are mutual
assistance and close solidarity. The importance of the concept of
"lineage" varies from clan to clan; while Jegase has this relatively
long list of lineage names, Seho has no such list. Conversely, while
Jegase has no common ancestor upon which all members of the clan are
agreed, Seho has a human eponymous ancestor about whom a myth is told.
Seho also has a totem animal (Garo = wallaby) while Jegase is actually
the name of the totem animal recognised by all its members. It is a
small flying insect present in great numbers around the taro leaves.
It is possible, however, to classify Seho according to groups which
share plant emblems and investigation shows that both clans equally
are the result of fairly recent fusions; the lineages or plant emblem
groups, however, are of somewhat greater antiquity. I saw evidence
of the creation of new plant emblems and of the dying off of old plant
emblems, so that even the plant emblems do not survive indefinitely.
But Orokaiva rightly regard the plant emblem as sign of a relationship
of greater antiquity, for clan allegiance can be changed in a day
whereas the plant emblem group can always be traced back beyond human
memory, i.e., beyond 50 years or so.

621 Inonda, in the same period, has developed in the direction of
a one-clan village. In 1951, out of 12 households, eight were of the
614 Andiriha clan and three of Jego'undi. In 1966, the wife in this
remaining household had died and the widower, with his four children,
moved into an Andiriha household. As in Sivepe, many of the people
now calling themselves Andiriha were not born with that clan name, but
took it after settling in Inonda. Crocombe and Hogbin divided the
Andiriha local clan group of Inonda into four "lineages," for which
they quoted, in each case, a single plant emblem (1963: 17). They

621 also reported that there is one plant emblem which all Inonda members
614 of the Andiriha clan have in common, a feature not found in Sivepe.
In discussing household composition patterns, I shall simplify
the picture somewhat, as for the purpose of this study it is irrelevant
592 whether children are natural or adopted, legitimate or not, children
of both parents or one and whether clan membership is "primary" or
"permissive." All these questions would be highly relevant, of course,
if we were dealing with a village such as Hohorita, where many people
died during the eruption so that many remarriages and adoptions can
[114] be traced to that cause. One of the strange gaps in Williams'
ethnography is that he omits any reference as to household composition;
in his notebooks, he records household composition for two villages,
Burugata and Wasida, showing that in every case in those villages, a
household was made up by a husband, wife and children. In one case of
a polygamous family, the man had two houses, one for the family of one
of his wives and one for the families of the other two.

592 Informants told me of one rule regarding household composition
which is likely to be quite ancient. This is that a man and his wife
606 may not quarrel in the presence of the husband's father (and, needless
to say, in the presence of the wife's father). For this reason, the
people of Sivepe certainly do not like three-generation households when
the middle generation is represented by a married couple. It is normal
for a married woman to stay with her parents or her husband's parents
while her own husband is away working for wages--as is frequent among
younger couples. In that case, the household will have three generations,
but the middle generation is represented by a woman only, with the
husband only an infrequent guest. When I came to Sivepe, and the
village was still only half-built, I found three households in which
the middle generation was represented by a husband and wife plus,
sometimes, a few others. In all these three cases, a change had
occurred before I left: the husband and wife had built themselves one
house, leaving another for the old people and perhaps some other adults,
not including couples. This rule seems to be regarded as less important
in Inonda. (See Table 15.)[A]

592 My own impression is that the normal household is composed of
a nuclear family, as appears from the Sivepe (but not the Inonda)
[594] statistics. Widowers and sometimes also widows live in houses by
themselves, even if they have no young children living with them and
[589] do not like staying with their children after they are married. A
widower usually has his meals cooked for him by a daughter or other
close relative who brings the food to this house. Though occasionally,
two married brothers (or other close relatives) live in the same
house, this is likely to be a temporary arrangement. I do not think
that useful sociological conclusions can be drawn from comparison
between Inonda and Sivepe in respect of household compositions, as
there are in Inonda only two households of the type I have shown to be
highly untypical and these may well be accounted for by idiosyncratic
circumstances.

A [See Cat. 116, p. 220--Analyst]

CHAPTER III: Degree of Homogeneity of the Community

621 To what extent do we find ethnic diversity in this population? The answer to this question depends very much on our concept of homogeneity. If we look merely at the diversity of clans and of places of birth of present community members, as stated by themselves, a remarkably homogeneous picture may be presented for Sivepe: out of 28 male adults actually resident in Sivepe, 26 were born within two miles of the present village site; the other two were born in Soroputa, which [591] is hardly more than four miles away. Both the Soroputa men had married Sivepe women; they were the only two families that were overtly [582] uxorilocal. Although the rest of the families were all overtly virilocal, only seven out of 33 adult Sivepe females came from a village more than two miles away from the present village site. None of these seven were over 45 years of age; all but two were under 35 years old. Furthermore, six of these seven women married into the Jegase clan. Only one of them married into Seho; in this case, the woman had married a Jegase man, become divorced, and then remarried into Seho.

621 582 The traditional pattern was for a man to marry a woman from a nearby village; the present generation of Seho householders had all followed this tradition. The more modern pattern is to choose women from further afield; this had become a frequent practise for the younger Jegase men who tended to choose wives from villages two to four (but never more) miles from Sivepe. Sorovi had followed the traditional pattern, without one exception. From this viewpoint, homogeneity was extreme.

563 169 In Inonda, two of the nine adult male inhabitants were born outside the district: one came from Arafa, in the Managalasi district and was captured by Inonda people in war as an infant. This fact was at first concealed from me and only elicited when inconsistencies arose. If one asks his clan name, he answers it is Andiriha. He has two sons living in the village, both married. The other immigrant is a Sangara man who was a mission teacher at Sewa before the eruption, came to Inonda with the other Sewa people, and did not return to Sewa when the others went back to their old village. His two daughters both married Inonda men.

621 628 [582] Of the ten adult women living at Inonda, four came from the Sangara tribe, one from Kendata in the Sasembata district and the others from villages in the vicinity of Inonda. The term "vicinity" has a slightly different meaning in the Inonda district than in the far more densely populated area around Sivepe. The villages from which Inonda women tended to come were three or four miles away rather than just one mile. To this greater geographical distance corresponded a greater

621 social distance also. Relations between Inonda and Ureo or Hohota,
from which Inonda recruited wives, were distinctly less friendly than
628 those prevailing between, say, Sivepe, Garombi and Binduta. (See
my doctoral dissertation and also Hogbin, 1966.)

If we seek an explanation for the far greater heterogeneity
563 of Inonda, we find two historical causes in this sample: a war and
621 a disaster. The link with Kendata came through the Managalasi man;
the links with Sangara came as a result of the eruption of Mt.
167 Lamington. Admittedly, this Sangara link was of a modern type, the
central figure being a mission teacher. The residential pattern however
is ancient: due to some vicissitude, a man settled with his affines;
this led to further marriages between his village of origin and his
village of residence. He was given enough land to cultivate for
subsistence. In this case, the Sangara immigrant still quoted his own
clan name when asked; the Managalasi man did not.

If we go back a little further in the history of Sivepe, even
only one generation beyond the present residents, we find much the
[727] same pattern as still survives in Inonda. The capturing of young
orphans was a commonplace event among the Orokaiva, as were also
[423] migrations to escape from enemies. Sometimes the fugitives or the
orphans returned eventually to their village of origin, looking for a
friendly relative who was willing to meet their claims to the land of
their fathers. In going back a few generations into the past, one
never knows for certain who is a new immigrant and who is a claimant
for ancient rights.

The tendency is always to obliterate the traces of alien
origin, to drop alien phonetical habits and alien use of grammar and
[723] vocabulary as soon as possible. On the other hand, myths of the place
of origin will still be transmitted to the children, so that anyone
collecting tales among the Orokaiva will be presented with a variety
of versions of different local origin. Many of the best ones I collected
were of Kiorota origin because the father of old man who told
the stories came from that district about 45 years ago. Furthermore,
the links with the place of origin are rarely broken off, not even in
the case of women or babies who were abducted as war captives. The
immigrant wishes to keep alive his land rights in his place of origin.
The people of his native village in return wish to exploit any advantages
there may be in the connection between their absent clansman and his
hosts. This connection will be kept alive by further intermarriages.

Immigrants and their descendants therefore retain multiple
167 loyalties. As these loyalties are kept alive over the generations
563 by intermarriage, use of trees in the other village, fishing and
hunting rights, and as migration used to be very common before the
pax Australiana, such multiple loyalites are extremely common. I am
not quite sure how these loyalties fared in time of war, but I understand
that if two men who were linked by such relationships found
themselves on opposite sides in a war, they were unlikely to fight
each other though stories are told of unfortunate accidents. I have

167 already pointed out the usefulness to a village of such men of multiple
loyalties because they were the natural ambassadors if something
563 needed to be negotiated between the two groups.

It will be seen that the effect of the eruption on the homogeneity
of Sivepe has been minimal: one stranger came into the community
621 through marriage. The ideology engendered by the resettlement villages
167 did lead to some accretions in Sivepe population over the last decade
before my visit, but these accretions (from Binduta and Garombi)
would hardly make the population heterogeneous. These migrations were
over a very short distance, short enough to allow migrants to maintain
gardens on their own land, and were facilitated by existing agnatic
and cognatic links.

167 a village as small as Sivepe, statistical samples will sometimes show freakish features of which the sociological significance should not 166 be overestimated.

Nine of the 12 labour migrants came from two of the families, [461] namely the family of the village constable and that of the man who was councillor for Sivepe over the years following 1956. The other migrants came from three further Jegase families. The reason for all these movements was, of course, the absence of employment opportunities [873] close to Sivepe. One absentee from Sivepe was a boy of the Seho clan who was at a secondary boarding school (Martyr's school, at Agenahambo).

Dissension was the reason for both the major migratory movements into Sivepe. The two Jegase families who came to Sivepe around 1956 were originally residents of a hamlet near Binduta called Korinasusu. All the other families of Korinasusu belonged to a different clan (Usohu). Conflicts between the groups arose; one Jegase man felt sure that deaths in his family were caused by Usohu sorcery and left. Another Jegase man was then accused of sorcery against Usohu and ● [621] decided it would be wiser if he left too. At one time, such families might have set up a separate hamlet, but the government pressure [657] towards consolidated villages led to their settlement at Sivepe, where there were a number of other Jegase families.

I was not able to reconstruct precisely what led to the Sorovi migration. Two of the men who settled in Sivepe were brothers of the Garombi feast leader and the other men were linked with these two by affinity or close friendship, as well as common clan membership. [593] It is a general principle of Orokaiva family structure that the oldest brother in any family has absolute control over the family land and other family assets; he takes the place of the father. There is no sort of appeal against his decisions. He has the duty to "look after" his younger brothers and see that they prosper. If he fails in this task, the younger brothers have only one recourse; namely, to leave. In practise, the oldest brother is often compelled to divide up the patri-money when such a split-up occurs. Certainly this is what happened in the present case. The younger brothers renounced their elder's protection and started out on their own. Again, due to government pressure, they joined an existing village rather than starting a new one, as they might once have preferred.

Sivepe was chosen for several reasons. One of them undoubtedly was the link that existed through the three women from Ajoro who had been captured and taken to wives by men from Garombi and Sivepe. The descendants of these men regarded themselves as bound by common ancestry, because the three Ajoro women were regarded as being closely related (nobody could say how, but the fact that they came from the same village was said to be sufficient). This was a link between Sorovi and one lineage of Jegase; there were also specific links with a Seho lineage. Furthermore, as was often emphsized to me, there were links of hereditary friendship. Also, the families had land very close to Sivepe.

657 Garombi was a somewhat delapidated settlement. The government
and the council were said to favour its dissolution and incorporation
621 into Sivepe and Binduta. This project was favoured by Sivepe which
was keen to enlarge its size. Sivepe could see that under the modern
166 dispensation, the greatest favours always went to the largest villages.
167 The large villages had shops, water supplies, a club house; the coffee
truck stopped there, and so on. There was also a prize for the most
improved village; here, too, size was thought an asset. In council
elections and many other contemporary situations, size meant power.
Sivepe was therefore eager to absorb these families, hoping that more
would follow. During the year of my visit, there were several meetings
about this with Garombi people; rumours of further migration were
hopefully spread around.

161 In contrast, Inonda slightly dropped in population in the period
under consideration. There was the same rise in the number of children;
[464] there was little loss through labour migration (only one man in 1962;
as Crocombe and Hogbin report; and still only one today). The decline
[166] in the number of households was due to dissensions; the households
shifted to neighbouring Ureo and Hohota. Perhaps this decline may be
[621] explained by the strong leadership exercised by one family--socially,
economically and ritually--so that anyone who fell out with that family
more or less had to leave. In contrast, Sivepe has several strong
personalities who had to make compromises with one another. Sivepe's
post-eruption development was shaped not by one dominant figure but
by several, each making a specific kind of contribution. Certainly,
there was factionism, but there was also balance between the rivals.
In the next two chapters, I shall deal with these two kinds of
internal pressure: the character of the key personalities and of their
rivalry.

CHAPTER VIII: Factionalism

In the preceding chapters I have invoked a number of principles
121 of classification with the aid of which I have divided the sample
621 communities into a number of what are in the last resort arbitrary
categories: religious categories (pagan-Christian), political categories
(clans and lineages), ethnic categories (Orokaiva villagers and
non-Orokaiva mission teachers), generational categories (age groups),
acculturational categories (which sometimes coincided with the other
categories already mentioned in personnel). It became apparent that
all these categories were to some extent socially significant: we
found, for instance, that the Inonda pagans are distinguishable from
the Inonda Christians by having different economic objectives, a
different level of Western education, smaller access to economic
resources (land, etc) while they also belong to different lineages from
the Christians. We also found, however, that the line of religious
division by no means coincides with a generational division, nor do
pagans necessarily have less experience at work outside the community.

In Sivepe we found political membership groups (clans) which
621 showed marked differences in certain acculturational indices (work
665 outside the community, knowledge of other languages, exogamy, etc.)
but little difference in other, probably more crucial ones (land
resources and cash cropping activities). We found ethnic differences
between mission teachers and villagers to be mainly significant in the
context of political and status rivalry between the station and the
villages. At various points we found differences in customs as between
generations, but we also found that at Sivepe, the category of male
adults under 35 is almost absent; and also, that when these younger
people do return to the villages, their elders are apt to imitate them
in certain respects. They thus become channels of acculturation.

I should perhaps have added that in this respect, as in most
others, the Orokaiva practise a subtle bargaining of customs. The
younger men come back with money and assets which they find are soon
distributed, under one pretext or another, among the less affluent
villagers. They have to "help" when called upon; they have to respect
the existing system of social obligations. This is a pattern the younger
generation has never successfully challenged in Sivepe, though perhaps
it was easier to challenge in Inonda, where there is a "big man" as
665 leader. Another classification, namely between male and female,
should also perhaps be briefly considered as, under the impact of the
562 women's clubs, men and women could occasionally be seen to behave as
political membership groups.

This political division between men and women was, of course,
on a rather superficial level. It was not seen in Inonda at all, as

124 really stood. In this, there may have been a certain hollowness;
I never saw among all the Orokaiva a young man who was as scared of
177 his affines as this one. One reason why I employed the young woman as
second interpreter was that nothing would induce him to open his mouth
when I wanted to talk to his classificatory father-in-laws. In all
significant respects, then, he offered little challenge to accepted
tradition.

Children were trained by their parents in the prevalent system
867 of custom and belief, as modified by recent changes; they maintained
869 their traditional regard for their elders, not regarding their school
knowledge as giving them any claims to superiority. Their elders did,
177 as far as I know, make no use of the knowledge their children gained
at school; my two interpreters were the technicians when letters had
to be written or other newfangled problems solved. Everyone in the
621 village, including ourselves, were expected to fulfill reciprocal
obligations in the community; the acculturated young were certainly
571 expected to help their kinsfolk, especially if their knowledge had
602 yielded cash. Even those absent on jobs in town were always asked
(and occasionally expected) to help. There was only one partial
escape from community obligations and that was to live outside the
village. Migrants knew that whatever possessions they had amassed
away from home would soon have to be shared out if they returned to
Sivepe. While they were away, they could more often refuse demands
with impunity. But they knew that unsatisfied claims tended to be
stacked up against their return. Some claims were purely try-ons.
I have myself been the communicator of such claims from a Kongohambo
man to his kinsmen in Port Moresby; I could see that the response
to some of them was merely hearty laughter. But others,
communicated at the same time, were taken seriously; some gift had
to be made.

The penalty threatening an absentee who neglected his kin had
[626] to be paid when that absentee returned; especially when that absentee
[423] wanted to resume possession of his land holdings. Little would it
benefit him that certain lands had been left to him by his father, for
during his absence, other men had been "looking after" them. If he
had neglected these men, his rights would be hard to reassert; the
community would give him little sympathy. If he had been generous
during his absence, he could be strong in his claims; his relations
would then show him benevolence. Rights could be kept warm only by
constant exchanges; a moratorium of more than one year begins to be
risky. While a man is in town, the exchanges seem unequal; money or
clothes go to the village; some taro are sent to town (when I went to
Port Moresby I was given a sack of these to carry, to be distributed
by a knowing relative in town).

For those who remain in the village, the sanctioning mechanisms
626 are mostly informal. Failure in one's obligations means loss of
status, leads to gossip, derogatory remarks to one's face, perhaps
even a harangue at night by a man at the other end in the village.

CHAPTER X: Esprit de Corps

621 The problem of developing group consciousness in a new village,
created by aggregating the population from several villages in one
731 place, is a very considerable one under Orokaiva conditions. Each
village group tends to be a tight unit and it is a long time before a
feeling of unity will develop between the groups thus thrown together.
In a place such as Hohorita, which consists of the remnants of about
12 villages, the creation of an esprit de crops (in Linton's sense,
1936: 92-94) is a lengthy and hazardous business.

I was able to observe the same situation in Sivepe in 1966,
though on a much smaller scale. Sivepe, as I mentioned before, consisted
of a core of people who lived in Pamba before the eruption and two
groups who arrived since, one from Binduta in 1956 and one from Garombi
in 1966. The extent to which these groups have been "integrated"
into the village will appear at once if one looks at the spatial
[361] arrangement of the village. As I pointed out, the ideal plan of this
village was an arrangement of two parallel facing rows. Now all the
long-established families, with one exception, followed this plan,
but none of the new arrivals did. The Garombi arrivals built on a
piece of land just above the village, on land owned by a Sorovi man
who stayed behind in G rombi. The Binduta arrivals built next to the
Garombi ones, on attractive sites overlooking the rest of the village.
None of them followed the house plan decided upon by the rest. Thus
they gave all the appearance of a group apart, and the symbolic
significance of such behaviour would never be lost upon the Orokaiva.
When asked about this arrangement, people would describe it to me as
temporary.

621 In the daily presentations of food between residences, these
families would most often send food to one another, rather than to
[431] other families in the village, but this was natural, as their own
mutual ties were closest. At the same time, I recorded a reasonable
number of gifts travelling from the top of the hill down to the village
and conversely; there was certainly no rigid separation there. A
number of kinship and friendship ties existed between the new arrivals
and the older families; these ties were fostered by regular exchange
[578] presentations of one sort or another. I have referred to one conflict
between a Garombi arrival and a woman from the centre of the village.
This was an isolated case, as there was no sign of conflict between
the groups, nor did this flare-up lead to continued bad relations.
One could say that an esprit de crops was gradually forming, and that
the merger looked satisfactory.

621 On the other hand, the hazards were obvious when one looked
at the settlers from Binduta. When conflict developed, as in the
684 attempted rape case, the man from Binduta was in a weak position.

621 Naturally he was angry that his wife had been molested; his younger
brother who was rather fiery and quick to fight, was angrier still.
684 They both found themselves isolated as the kinsmen of the assaulter
took the opportunity of expressing their heart-felt views about the
two brothers, especially the pugnacious one who had successfully raped
a young Seho woman earlier that year. Both brothers said they would
go back to Binduta and the younger man actually did so. This shows that
their position in Sivepe was still somewhat unstable.

One of the objectives Sivepe had during the year 1966-7 was
657 to win a prize for the most improved village. This prize was awarded
621 by a committee of councillors and paid out of government funds. The
eagerness to align all the houses in two rows was partly due to this
361 desire to win the prize, though this was not the only motive. In
these circumstances, it was certainly evidence of esprit de corps to
fit in with the village plan and the objective of winning the prize;
it was also evidence of a lack of esprit de corps to ignore the village
plan altogether and build houses of inferior design in places where
they were extremely conspicuous. Yet this is what the immigrants from
Garombi and Binduta did. Lawrence, and the others who were keen about
village improvement, accepted this situation with much tolerance,
though Lawrence did go up to the Garombi houses one morning to talk it
over. No doubt he received assurances that something would be done;
the discussion was amicable enough. Yet this instance shows that the
amalgamating of villages poses organisational problems which place a
burden upon everybody: upon the old residents who must be tactful
and upon the new arrivals who will long continue to feel insecure.

CHAPTER XI: Epilogue--The Case of Hohorita

Section 1: Comparison Between Resettlement of Sivepe and Hohorita

731 My subject of study obliged me, both in Sivepe and Inonda, to
inquire repeatedly into the state of affairs in 1951. My informants
123 showed only limited interest in this line of inquiry. Robert, in
Sivepe, even began to tease me by composing a song about what he
considered to be an oddity of mine; every second line in this song
(which he improvised as we walked along the road) began with the words
"iji tiri pejetai" (the time when the volcano blew up)--I knew that
from that time onwards I could never use this phrase without looking
a little ridiculous. Such levity would have been unthinkable in
Hohorita. For most Hohorita people, the time of the eruption marked
the death of some, or many, of their closest relatives.

In the files of the Department of District Administration I
731 saw the official estimate of indigenous casualties in the eruption
[165] (Table 1).[A] The toll of the dead from the Sangara tribe was evidently
established by taking the total resident population of the Sangara
group of villages (1964) and subtracting from that total, 170 known
Sangara survivors. To these figures, 800 "Andemba dead" must be added
as these were also Sangara. According to these figures, 94% of all
Sangara died in the eruption. I have already pointed out that most of
the survivors either came from villages lying at the boundary of the
devastation area or happened to be away from home when the disaster
occurred. They escaped to Cape Killerton, were placed in an evacuation
camp at Oro Bay, shifted to Popondetta and in May, 1951, were able to
settle at the Northern edge of Sangara territory, in a village called
Irihambo where they found themselves under the close personal care of
Bishop Hand who encouraged them to build a fine new church. The
Bishop's purpose, as he explained to me, was to give this minute remnant
of the powerful Sangara tribe a sense of community, some hope in life.
It was the people who chose the site for the village; the Bishop hoped
[621] that later on, it could become a centre for cocoa production as climate
[361] and soil suits this crop very well. At that time, neither the people
nor the government seemed aware that the land occupied by the Sangara
[425] was no longer in law their property.

The whole block North of Irihambo as well as East of it had
been bought by the Crown around 1910, with the intention of encouraging
425 sugar plantations there, but this plan was stopped by sugar interests
in Australia. In the middle 1950's, a new plan arose to use this
657 extremely fertile area for cocoa plantations. Most of it was settled
in 1959 by Australian ex-servicemen, financed by a Credit Board
(Howlett, 1965). As this plan was in its initial stages, it was
discovered that the Sangara people were on the land and, in law, were

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. 205--Analyst]

Section 2: Physical Environment

The present territory of Hohorita stretches from near Mount
131 Lamington (an elevation about equal to that of Sivepe) down to Double
133 Crossing, which is about 600 feet above sea level. Rainfall at the
top of the territory may be close to that of Sivepe, but further down
132 it decreases--though I doubt whether it would fall much below 150 inches
per year anywhere on Sangara territory. The land yielded much the same
wild and cultivated crops as in Sivepe. Before the eruption, the
361 concentration of population was entirely at the higher reaches of this
territory, while the lower parts were used for hunting and other
subsidiary activities. Those who survived the eruption because they
were away from their villages were often hunting on this lower land.
Today, the pattern of occupation has shifted. The lower part of the
territory, near the new villages, is intensively used while the more
elevated land is used a little less and often for coffee rather than
subsistence crops.

The eruption has made minor changes to land contours: due to
731 the floods, the watershed of the Ambogo River was gouged out forming a
number of pools of stagnant water which formed a breeding ground
for mosquitoes and leeches. These pests are blamed on the eruption by
the local people. On the credit side, certain varieties of bananas
and pumpkins, planted before the eruption, had the opportunity to
grow wild during the year the land was unoccupied and are now thought
of as having been brought to the district by the eruption.

162 The total Sangara population today would be about 472--of which
350 live in Hohorita and the rest in the three other villages. The
161 total land holdings of this population extend over 3.5 square miles--
an average of about 135 per square mile. This places the Sangara in
a somewhat superior economic position to Sivepe, which has to support
at least 180 persons per square mile on land of the same quality. It
must be remembered that prior to the eruption, the Sangara population
was six times as large as it is today--so that Sangara must have
suffered a chronic land shortage. All the neighbours of the Sangara
are agreed that they were very warlike and dangerous enemies; they
probably were in frequent need of extra gardening land. Today, they
have enough land not only for subsistence gardening but also for a
somewhat larger cash-cropping programme than is generally found in the
Sasembata district.

The present site of Hohorita (see Map XIV),[A] developed in several
● 621 stages. First the Horeopa clan, which had the greatest number of
361 survivors and therefore achieved dominance, shifted to the front part
of Hohorita village in 1956. The mission station was established
next to the village, separated from the village by a small stream.
By 1958, all the Horeopa were settled in houses in the new village,
together with the Oripa clan whom they had asked to join them while
all the other inhabitants of Irihambo had shifted to the new mission

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 13--Analyst]

621 station. The Horeopa leader, who was the owner of this land, then
invited these other clans to come over and make Hohorita into one
361 united big village. When the clans came over in 1959, they followed
the same pattern as the Sorovi immigrants followed in Sivepe: they
arranged their houses so as to maintain, in a subtle but unmistakable
way, their own identity. They formed in effect a second rectangle
which formed a harmonious continuation of the first rectangle but which
was separated by just half a chain. In 1966, the front and the back
half of Hohorita held separate feasts, each inviting a different
village. In 1967, the councillor made plans to clear the gap between
the two halves, remove the two old houses which emphasised the separation
and build new houses in the cleared area to join the rows together.

Around this time, the Sombou people began to establish themselves
in Hohorita, leaving their old village behind. I think it was they
[764] who filled the gap between the rows. The councillor had long been at
pains to close down the small villages of Sombou and Kakita and Sombou
[775] was finally persuaded after the death of an old migrant who had remained
a pagan. As he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery, and
people did not feel disposed to carry out the full involved ritual to
placate the ghost, they preferred to shift their village. (They thought
that pagan ghosts are far more dangerous than Christian ones.)

361 Hohorita, like most resettlement villages, lies along the main
road to Popondetta, 11 miles from Popondetta, seven miles from Saiho
368 hospital, three miles from the Higaturu Council chambers. The school,
conducted by the mission on Hohorita station, offers an education to
the end of Standard 3.

621 The two feasts held in 1966 were intended to introduce into
Hohorita the pigless era advocated by all councillors. I arrived a
433 month or two after the feasts and by that time two very small pigs had
appeared which were there for a special reason I have forgotten.
434 Sombou and Kakita still had a normal complement of pigs. Coffee was
[231] a somewhat bigger enterprise in Hohorita than at Sivepe. The trees
were much better looked after, and there were far more of them. Every
[245] man had his coffee garden and an income of $100 per annum from coffee
was normal. Young trees were also being planted at a much faster rate.
[166] Compared to Sivepe, there were very few wives whose husbands were
permanently away working. The reason for this was that there are a
number of plantations quite close to Hohorita and those who needed
to work to pay off bridewealth, etc., could do so without going too
far afield. Money to pay taxes and other regular outgoing expenses
464 would come from coffee. Men who were able to find skilled jobs,
clerical or professional work usually had their wives with them. An
167 important resource of Hohorita, not shared by Sivepe, is the availability of good jobs within a reasonable distance; the fact that Hohorita
families do not break up in the same way as Sivepe ones indicates that
such separation is probably economically motivated. It is necessary
for a young man to earn his trophies, so to speak, which in the modern
world means money, but if he can do it without a prolonged absence
from home, he prefers staying home.

Section 3: Social Environment

619 [199] In discussing the Waseta "tribe" I suggested that its boundaries would be hard to establish and that it gave little evidence of any sense of unity. The case of Sangara is somewhat different; first of all, Sangara speaks a dialect of its own that is easily distinguishable from that of other areas. Secondly, a Sangara man is able, if he is knowledgeable enough, to list some 27 villages which formed a loose military alliance, and between which raids and organised ward did not occur. [582] These 27 villages formed at the same time an area within which intermarriage would regularly occur. The present population of Hohorita and the adjunct villages is drawn entirely from this alliance. (The number 27 is probably an underestimate.)

621 [659] Since the government made Sangara the centre of the Northern District immediately after the war, patrols were active in the Sangara district to amalgamate villages. A number of the people now living in Hohorita report that they came from such consolidated villages, such as Tunana, which absorbed three neighbouring villages just before the eruption. Informants say that the clusters of villages joined together in this way had always been closely related. The population of Hohorita is more diverse. I was at first told that it was composed of households of four clans (Horeopa, Oripa, Besupa and Sehopa), the first two clans being in the front village and the last two in the back village. A house-to-house census revealed representatives of a further eight clans, sometimes survivors of clans that had otherwise died out, sometimes a clan more fully represented in Kakita or Sombou while two clan names came from the Sasembata district, under circumstances to be discussed later. Furthermore, when a number of families came from the same clan, they were not always from the same village. While Sombou was inhabited by the remnants of one cluster of four villages, and Kakita by the remnants of one village, Hohorita offered a more general hospitality to all Sangara.

621 629 Because of their history, the four Sangara villages built since the eruption form a rather tight cluster, quite different from the intersecting circle pattern I described for the Sasembata district. When a person in Sombou died, the whole of Hohorita rushes to join the wake. All four villages in the cluster do this for each other, but not for any other village. [731] Because of the sharp drop in population, and the way the survivors were thrown together after the disaster, people who were previously bound together only by a very loose alliance now behave in the same way as a small neighbourhood cluster of closely related villages.

Meanwhile, the Sangara people are rapidly developing friendships and affinal links outside the tribe. In 1966, the front half of Hohorita gave a feast for Koipa (a large Isivita resettlement village), the back half gave a feast for Asigi, Irihambo gave a feast for Hohorita while Sombou, with the assistance of Kakita, entertained the Uhuru'undi

521 of them made frequent visits to Popondetta and there met urbanised
Sangara. A group used to meet in the hotel for what were often
political discussions arising out of current events and rumours. This
emphasis on the political and ideological reminded me of what I had
seen among the Maori, the Indonesians and what is reflected in recent
African studies: the kinship universe is crosscut by other ideas
presupposing a political centre, centralised power, fundamental social
and economic changes. The presence of Papuan public servants made
[474] much difference here. For instance, nobody in Sivepe, discussing
savings accounts, would have thought of telling me that there are
54 cooperative societies in the district only four of which are
Savings and Loan Societies. This group knew the pulse of the Northern
District in concrete factual terms while Sivepe relied on disconnected
phenomena that happened to drift into their ken and from which their
suspicions and hopes shaped an image sustained by the stories of their
councillor.

Section 5: Internal Influences of the Eruption

361 Compared to the two sample villages, Hohorita is a more densely
concentrated settlement, with 348 inhabitants in 41 houses. When I
621 was there, there were still two clearly separated araha; the dominant
clans of the front village section were Horeopa and Oripa; in the back,
[161] Beeupa and Sehopa. But within each section, there was no striking
seperation of the clans into "sides" as in villages in the Sasembata
district. House distances were as at Sivepe.

614 In contrast to Sivepe, there is no tendency for clan groups to
fuse, 12 independent names being given to me. This number can be
621 somewhat reduced if we ignore those clan names represented by a single
family where the wife belongs to one of the major Hohorita clans--the
wife is then the "sponsor," in Fischer's sense, of the household.
Thus, two of the clan names given to me belonged to immigrants from
the Sasembata district who had married into Sangara. For all practical
purposes their allegiance lay with the clan of their wives. The other
clan names were all Sangara, representing survivors from numerous
pre-eruption villages.

592 In household composition, the smaller settlements of Sombou and
Kakita rather resembled Sivepe, but in Hohorita three-generation
households were more common and bachelor's houses were not found.
[597] Furthermore, many children were left parentless through the eruption
and these were adopted by Hohorita households, especially by childless
ones. As a result, childless households in Hohorita are far rarer
than in Sivepe. A considerable number of marriages and remarriages
[423] occurred immediately after the eruption. The sharp drop in population,
furthermore, left Sangara with plenty of land for the survivors, so
that 25-35 year age group is far better represented in Horotia than in
Sivepe.

731 Immediately after the eruption, the Sangara people decided to waive all bridewealth, so that a large percentage of the women in [583] Hohorita were married without one. At the present time, bridewealth is reinstated, and young men go to neighbouring plantations, which are [464] plentiful--or else further abroad--to earn them. While many husbands worked outside Hohorita, most of them were able to return home at [595] weekends. Polygamy was pronounced before the eruption, but it seems that the polygamists became victims of the eruption and polygamy no longer exists as a recognised institution.

871 If the average educational standard at Hohorita is slightly above that of Sivepe, the reasons are: better facilities during the years 1945-1951, loss of many members of the older age groups in the eruption, special efforts made by Bishop Hand at Irihambo to draw Sangara into mission teaching. This higher standard is reflected in the statistics of persons who at one time or another have been in skilled occupations. (Table 21)[A] The persons who returned to Hohorita 434 did so with the express idea of making some money out of coffee; the average income from coffee in Hohorita is certainly far in excess of that in Sivepe (about $100 per annum).

871 Hohorita does feel that it is held back by the present educational provisions which are little better than those in Inonda and much inferior to those at Sasembata. (At Hohorita, there is no schooling beyond Standard 3, whereas Sasembata goes up to Standard 6.) Hohorita people compare the school unfavourably with the government school at the Sangara resettlement block which offers Standard 6, and which, furthermore, has more highly qualified teachers on the staff. My own impression was that the head teacher at Hohorita is a very good man; some of the criticism of him is no doubt due to spite, for he is of local origin. Still, the general criticism of facilities at Hohorita is not unjust.

621 Hohorita is less homogeneous in ethnic origin than the other villages discussed, as the population is drawn from different parts 563 of the Sangara tribe and intermarriage with other tribes has been 582 frequent. The explanation may be found in the pressure, after the disaster, to find mates when most preferred potential marriage partners had died in the eruption. This breaking down of the endogamous emphasis after wars and disasters is, as I pointed out earlier, traditional among the Orokaiva.

423 Heterogeneity was countered to some extent by an arrangement which was, according to informants, made by a popular meeting shortly 591 after the eruption. According to this arrangement women who married outside Sangara, would be allowed the same land rights as though 582 they had been sons. This was done in an effort, so I was told, to add one to the depleted Sangara population. Men would thus be encouraged to settle on Sangara land rather than take their Sangara wives home with them. Two men from the Sasembata district are now living in Hohorita under this arrangement. They keep up normal exchange relations with their home district, e.g., I know one of them lent hambo for the kere

[A] [See Cat. 116, p. 228--Analyst]

423 dance in Sasembata. But they enjoy very much better conditions than
are usual for men who marry uxorilocally.
591 The mortality among the elderly at the time of the eruption was
582 so great that many traditional customs and myths were lost among the
Sangara with the elders who knew them. For instance, rituals carried
on at birth in Sivepe are no longer practised in Hohorita. For the
731 rest, I did not see many differences between the villages in level
165 of acculturation. Housing conditions in Sivepe were better; money
was more plentiful at Hohorita. Dances were far more carefully
practised and more expertly performed at Sivepe. Clearly, the Hohorita
177 people spent more time at their coffee; this was given as the reason
184 for neglect in other matters. It may well be that cash-cropping above
the level noted at Sivepe has necessary consequences of this sort
unless technological changes occur. Ideologically, Hohorita is--as
I demonstrated--more deeply involved with the concepts of the New
Day than Sivepe.

Though no groups have left Hohorita since it was founded, the
● 621 co-residence of these many clans does make for a certain instability.
614 The leaders of the Oripa clan group told me that just after the
eruption very few Oripa were left, but as the clan was becoming more
numerous, it was beginning to think to establishing its own village.
Besupa was harbouring similar thoughts. Both these clans were minority
clans in their part of the village and this inevitably implied some
subordination. In Sivepe, the fusion of Jegase and Timumu had established
a fairly equal balance with Saho, as both clan groups were about equal
in strength if the greater resources of Saho are taken into account.
In Hohorita, however, the supremacy of Horeopa (and Sehopa in the back
section of the village) could hardly be challenged. The councillor
and the government are opposed to such fission and overcapping organisations such as the credit union, the women's club, the church, the
school, etc. may gradually set up a firm esprit de corps. The importance
of tree-crops (as opposed to shifting cultivation) in the Hohorita
economy might be a further disincentive to the migration of groups to
another village, but Oripa has in mind a new village site which would
actually be closer to their coffee gardens.

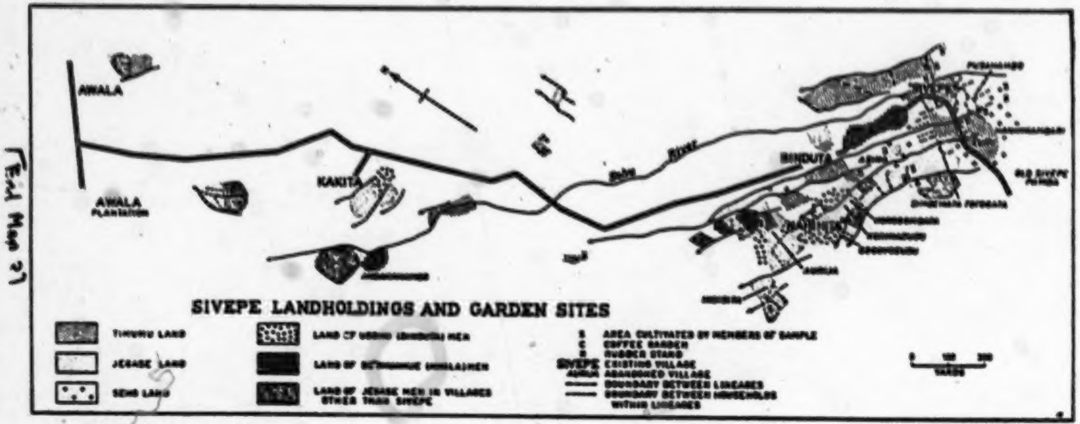
Section 6: Conclusion

In this study, we have found three complex forces, acting as
177 causes of changes, to be intertwined: forces acting throughout Papua
and New Guinea to promote socio-economic development, the effect of
the relocation of certain communities near Mount Lamington after the
eruption, and the physical and cognitive effects of the eruption itself.
The last-mentioned of these forces was far more disastrous for Sangara
731 than for the rest of the Northern District of Papua. In tracing the
causes of culture change in Hohorita, we have to give especial emphasis

177

[797]

Map III

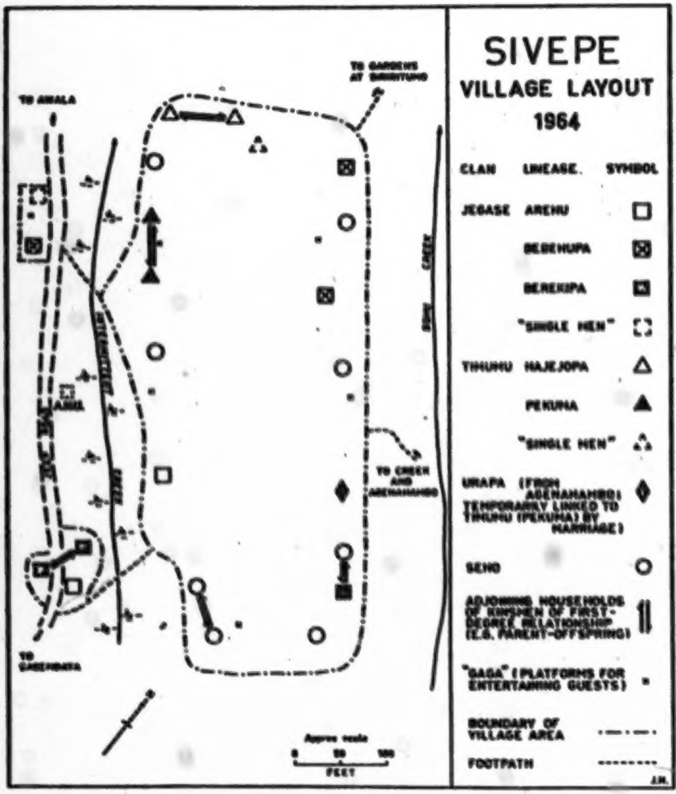

AWALA
AWALA PLANTATION
KAKITA
BINDUTA
SIVEPE LANDHOLDINGS AND GARDEN SITES
TIHURU LAND
JEHASE LAND
SEHO LAND
LAND OF HOROHO MEN
LAND OF JEHASE MEN IN VILLAGES OTHER THAN SIVEPE
S AREA CULTIVATED BY MEMBERS OF SAMPLE
C COFFEE GARDEN
R RUBBER STAND
SIVEPE EXISTING VILLAGE
AWALA ABANDONED VILLAGE
BOUNDARY BETWEEN LINEAGES
BOUNDARY BETWEEN HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN LINEAGES
OLD SIVEPE
YARDS

Source: Rimoldi 1966: 52

[End Map 2]

423
361
102
621
363
311

Map V


SIVEPE
VILLAGE LAYOUT
1964
CLAN LINEAGE. SYMBOL
JEGASE AREHU □
BEBEHUPA ⊠
BEREKIPA ⊠
"SINGLE MEN" ⛶
TIHUMU HAJEJOPA △
PEKUMA ▲
"SINGLE MEN" ∴
URAPA (FROM AGENAHAMBO) TEMPORARILY LINKED TO TIHUMU (PEKUMA) BY MARRIAGE) ◆
SEHO ○
ADJOINING HOUSEHOLDS OF KINSMEN OF FIRST-DEGREE RELATIONSHIP (E.G. PARENT-OFFSPRING)
"SAGA" (PLATFORMS FOR ENTERTAINING GUESTS) ▪
BOUNDARY OF VILLAGE AREA
FOOTPATH
TO AWALA
TO GARDENS AT SIRIRITUNG
TO CREEK AND AGENAHAMBO
CREEK
TO SASEMBATA
Approx scale
0 50 100
FEET
J.H.

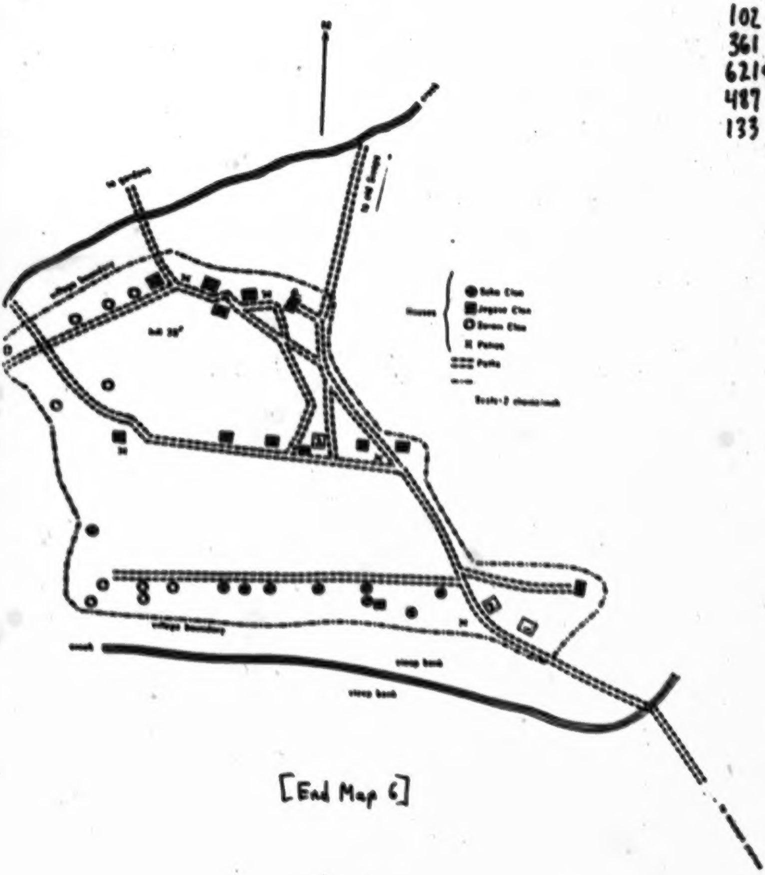
361
621
487
102
133
491

Source: Waddell & Krinks 1968: 38

[End Map 5]

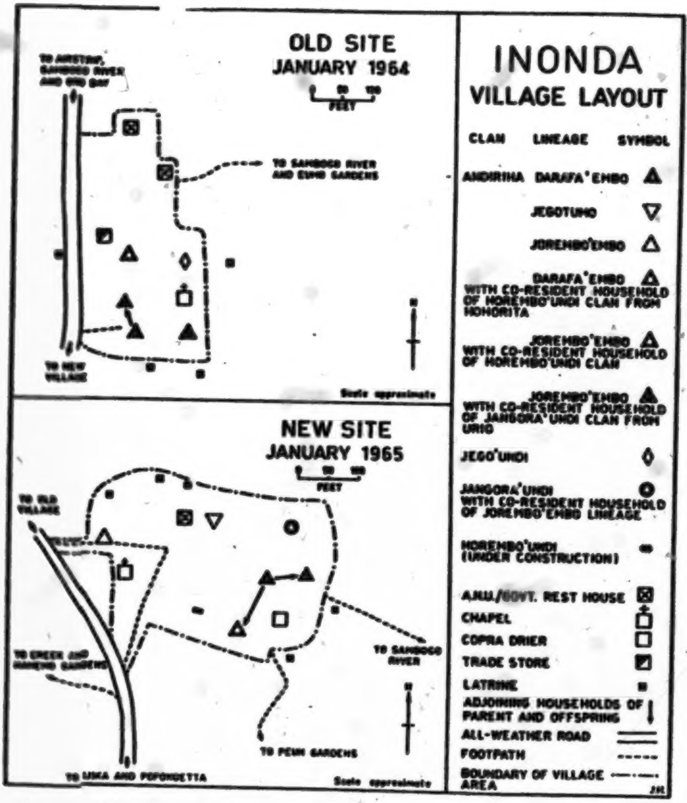
102
361
621
487
133

Map VI
Plan of New Sivepe


N
village boundary
Houses
Clan
Clan
Clan
Paths
village boundary
steep bank
steep bank

[End Map 6]

Maps VII and VIII


OLD SITE
JANUARY 1964
0 50 100
FEET
TO AIRSTRIP, SAMBOGO RIVER AND ORO BAY
TO SAMBOGO RIVER AND EMBI GARDENS
TO NEW VILLAGE
Scale approximate
NEW SITE
JANUARY 1965
0 50 100
FEET
TO OLD VILLAGE
TO EREEK AND HANEMO GARDENS
TO SAMBOGO RIVER
TO PEMI GARDENS
TO WAKA AND POPONDETTA
Scale approximate
INONDA
VILLAGE LAYOUT
CLAN
LINEAGE
SYMBOL
ANDIRIHA
DARAFA'EMBO
JEGOTUMO
JOREMBO'EMBO
DARAFA'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN FROM HOHORITA
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF HOREMBO'UNDI CLAN
JOREMBO'EMBO WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JANGORA'UNDI CLAN FROM URIO
JEGO'UNDI
JANGORA'UNDI WITH CO-RESIDENT HOUSEHOLD OF JOREMBO'EMBO LINEAGE
HOREMBO'UNDI (UNDER CONSTRUCTION)
AJIU/GOVT. REST HOUSE
CHAPEL
COPRA DRIER
TRADE STORE
LATRINE
ADJOINING HOUSEHOLDS OF PARENT AND OFFSPRING
ALL-WEATHER ROAD
FOOTPATH
BOUNDARY OF VILLAGE AREA
JH

102
361
621●
491
487
364

Source: Waddell & Krinks 1968: 54

[End Map 7]

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the
essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously
occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The im-
mediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva
words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Con-
● 621 sistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely
more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen
houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily
available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal prin-
ciples of organization, with a known strong tendency for
new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are
(614) reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a
given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually
scattered through several closely related settlements. The
592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate
621 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living
units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan
622 elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together,
usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal
422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils,
clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams
speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrel-
some and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in
the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was
marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of
strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers
to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in
[754] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Super-
natural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared.
Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually
[562] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac-
companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and
(786) sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that
while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local
[628] kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed
clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were
(728) precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the
truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived
in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes
361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,";
241 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture
which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession
[578] and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site.".
Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend
361 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During
261 this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow
zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild
roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the
731 excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who
165 were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller
176 living units than before. This appears to apply particularly
(799) to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though
a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village
type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
361 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have
571

[p 18-B]

171 Rich data on the symbolism defining the *philia* relationship in religio-philosophic terms are available in Strathern (1971). I have already expounded elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1972) that the theme of *philia* (its establishment, disruption, and restoration) is a central issue in New Guinean thought and that it enters into many levels of culture: geographical, zoological, social, magical, religious, and aesthetic.

THE OROKAIVA CASE

121 Up to this point, I have given some empirical illustrations of simple analytical distinctions. Thus, we can no longer take for granted that the *philia* universe always consists of friends and kin for it may define all friends as kin (as in the Maori) or vice versa (as in the Telefolmin). On the other hand, there are societies where the distinction friend/kin is of subordinate importance because the *philia* universe is classified by different criteria such as cooperative/competitive (Tangu) or real/feeble (South Fore). Then again, there are societies where consanguinity is a distinctive criterion within the *philia* system, but only in combination with other factors (Melpa).

If the Orokaiva case, of which a description now follows, seems more
572 complex than the preceding ones, this may be attributed, at least to some
171 extent, to my method of presentation. While most Oceanic sources are too
brief on the subject of friendship to enable us to go beyond summary statements,[5] the Orokaiva facts resemble those reported by Burridge (1957a; 1969) in many respects. But in some respects, the Orokaiva system seems more explicit. It differs from Tangu in having a slightly stronger patrilineal emphasis, less emphasis on collateral relations, and a stronger avoidance of
[582] affines. The Orokaiva marriage system, reported elsewhere (Schwimmer,
1970a), seems more highly structured. These factors are probably related
[182] to higher population density, larger social networks, higher soil fertility, and
more pervasive warfare.

131 The Orokaiva (population 25,000) live on the fertile volcanic loam of
the Mount Lamington foothills. Their main crop of taro once supported
161 villages of six to twelve families, although now, the villages are often larger
mainly because of pressure from the Australian administration. Williams
621 (1928, 1930)[6] characterized the society as patrilineal with a strong bi-
602 lateral emphasis. Women hold a relatively high position which is maintained

---

562 [5] Early accounts of New Guinea friendship relations are in Mead (1938) and Williams (1940). Later accounts of a *namel* type of relationship are in Pouwer (1955) and Hogbin (1964) and of the *otavo* type in Heider (1970). Oliver (1955), Schoorl (n.d.). The "resemblance friends" found by Williams among the Elema are not unlike the fictive *simbo* of the Orokaiva.

[6] Other useful sources on Orokaiva social organization are Crocombe and Hogbin (1963), Rimoldi (1966), Krinks and Waddell (1968), Schwimmer (1967, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972).

572 less diffuse term than *apa/eambo*; *jao* (Sangara and Sasembata) designating a *namei* type of relationship between women, used commonly between unrelated married women living in the same village.

Friends as a Distinctive Set

601 The Orokaiva employ certain collective terms to designate the *philia* universe
572 or distinctive parts of it. Thus, the term *mamahane* (father's people) designates the agnatic group, *epehane* (mother's brother's people) the maternal relatives, *aerihane* (wife's people) the affines, and *japehane* (literally, grandmother's people) the father's mother's group. There is, in addition, a term *nameikamei* which comprises the total *philia* universe including an undefined residue of non-kin as well as all the groups listed above. Although Sasembata do not use the term *namei* (friend), *nameikamei* is heard regularly. In neither locality was a collective term found which exclusively comprised the non-kin in the *philia* universe.

The term *nameikamei* certainly covered, apart from the kinsmen, the (Sangara) *namei* category and the *jao*, terms which are both regularly inherited bilaterally. I cannot say for certain whether the *otavo* and (fictive) *simbo* categories would be included in the *nameikamei* group. These terms may be employed in fairly casual relationships, but in time, persons calling one another *otavo* may decide to use a sibling term, thus making the relationship hereditary.

Statistically, non-kin make up only a small part of the *philia* universe. A man might be able to list several dozen *nameikamei* in villages more than three miles from his home, and non-kin would make up only 20 to 25 percent of such a list. (It should be noted that my statistics are somewhat cursory, as I could never be sure that any informant's list was complete.) Visits from non-kin tend to be made at greater intervals than visits from kin and they last a shorter time. One could safely say that non-kin are, on the whole, on the periphery of the *philia* network, as is the case among the Tangu.

An interesting difference between the two systems is that the hereditary relationship which is between fictive brothers-in-law among the Tangu, is between brothers (*apa/eambo*) among the (Sasembata) Orokaiva. It would be considered not only chilly but frightening for an Orokaiva to call his guest friend *dambo* – affine avoidance being stronger than among the Tangu.

Orokaiva Cooperative Alliances and Reciprocating Partnerships

Cooperative alliances tend to vary in size according to the purpose of the
571 alliance. In pre-contact times, the village was a cooperative alliance in war-
●[621] fare and in large feasts, comprising between six to twelve households. For
bridewealth and death payments, the alliance comprises the plant emblem
[614] group (Williams, 1925; 1930; Schwimmer, 1970a), the nucleus of which
approximates a four-generation lineage, although it also has other members.

572 bond is respected by both sides and utilized for purposes of mediation. The
628 friend is not an ally in war, but his person is sacrosanct.

Hereditary friendships are more likely to fade naturally and quietly than
to die violently in a quarrel. On the other hand, they may become converted
621 to affinal bonds or lead to co-residence, in which case an entirely new pat-
572 tern arises. It is possible for migrants into a village to have no bonds other
than those of hereditary friendship with their chosen hosts. But once co-
[166] residence is established, the new arrivals soon become involved in intracommunity politics along the lines suggested by Watson (1970): one of the existing factions woos the new arrivals to its side. A strong bond soon develops between the immigrants and the faction into which they are drawn. Intermarriage is likely to follow. A study of the composition of Orokaiva clans (see Schwimmer, 1970a) suggests that they are most often composed of a number of groups differing in local origin. These groups did not generally bear the same clan name prior to settlement, and sometimes they had no relatives at all in the village where they settled. (Still, it would be more usual for at least some members of the migrating group to have connections in the new place.) In the case of the Sorovi people who migrated to Sivepe in 1966, these connections were often of the fictive (friendship) *apa/eambo* type.

Apa/eambo and *jao* relationships are inherited bilaterally; that is, passed
572 on to both the sons and the daughters of the partners. The only restriction is that both members of the partnership must be of one sex; hence if partner A has only sons and partner B has only daughters, the partnership will die. Similarly, it may die if the age differences in any generation are too great. Even so, under bilateral succession, one would expect that people would recognize far more of these partnerships than in fact they do.

We don't know for how many generations they actually last. Friendship bonds are remembered exactly as long as genealogical bonds – for two generations senior to ego – but some may in fact be more ancient. Friendship bonds are most likely to be kept up when partner A has no kinsmen in partner B's village. Thus, they fill gaps in the network. They are put under strain when hostility develops between the two villages, although even then the friendship bond often survives.

Friendship Obligations and their Ideological Basis

572 (a) *Apa/eambo* or *namei*. The ceremony of receiving a guest friend differs
in some ritual features from the hospitality shown to affines and to con-
431 sanguineal competitive exchange partners. When the latter pay formal visits,
574 gifts are made on arrival. Sometimes, the guest does not sit down or allow his string bag to touch the ground until he is satisfied with the gifts offered. This is especially true if the partners are to reconcile a quarrel. Amicability begins after business is concluded. The gifts, in such cases, are made by the

either by the housewife who has cooked it or by one of her 824
children. The quantity is usually about two kilograms, which 431
constitutes a very hearty meal for one person. Thus taro gifts become, for the anthropologist, an almost infallible index of intimacy: once two persons have established a certain degree of intimacy, taro exchanges invariably follow. The same cannot be said for any other object of mediation, not even pig meat (which is exchanged only in specific circumstances) or coconut and areca (which may be given to very casual acquaintances). The exchange network of cooked taro therefore coincides with the network of intimate association.

I have made a somewhat detailed, statistically oriented study 824
of taro-exchange networks which, for lack of time, cannot be 431
reported here. During twenty-eight days, between 31 January
and 10 March 1967, I recorded taro gifts made by all house- 571
holds of Sivepe village. The number of gifts made and received 621
averaged 2.5 daily per household, ranging from a minimum average of 1.3 to a maximum average of 4.1. At the same time notes were kept of social relations between the households involved: work relations, common journeys, different types of visits between households, conversational groups in various parts of the village. The social interaction records were compared with statistics showing the households to which each household had given taro during the period, and the frequency of those gifts. There was a close correspondence between frequency of taro gifts and intimacy of social relations. There were also a set of types of formal occasions when such gifts were thought especially appropriate, e.g., when the recipient household was entertaining outsiders, had a new baby, a death, had performed some specific service; or if the recipient was old, incapacitated, ill. Nobody made taro gifts to everyone in the village: in the twenty-eight days for which I kept tally, the number of such partnerships varied from three to fourteen out of twenty-two households surveyed, with an average of 8.5.

The taro-exchange partners were always the persons on whom one was most dependent in sentiment, in economic tasks, in political support. They would tend to take one's side in intravillage disputes. Taro gifts thus were a ritual statement in

which one household would express its desire for close associa- 824
tion with another. I inquired to what extent the gifts were bal- 431
anced. I found, as Sahlins already suggested in 1965, that little 571
importance is attached to precise balance in food gifts. In more 621
than half the households the total imbalance exceeded the proportion 60:40. On the other hand, I also found that extreme imbalance usually has a special explanation, often old age, or special burdens which might be only temporary. Informants, when asked, deny there is any obligation to make return gifts. Yet the statistics show a strong tendency toward the sending of taro gifts on the same day or the day after one has received them. The recipient will explain that he is under no obligation but likes to reciprocate.

Certainly this attitude is in accordance with the explanation I have given of this custom. The return gift should not be considered principally as an obligation but as a ritual statement reciprocating the desire to maintain a close association. Here the question of the frequency of the gifts is closely connected with the question of how intimate each side wants the association to be. An increase in the frequency of the gifts means a desire for a more intimate association. If the recipient wishes to keep the association within certain limits, he may be slow in making a return gift. Unbalanced exchange occurred, for instance, with migrants from a neighboring village (Garombi) who gave more than they received and seemed to be constantly trying to build up new alliances. They were welcomed more warmly by some old residents than by others. If recipients, though fully capable of making equally frequent return gifts, reciprocate halfheartedly, the donor household tends to reduce the gifts to the level acceptable to its partner.

There are, therefore, limits which households set for the extensiveness of their taro-exchange network. These limits are determined less by economic considerations than by sociopolitical ones. There is a limit to the number of intimate social relationships that any individual can maintain. A choice exists, within any culture, between allocating relatively little time to a relatively large number of associates or maintaining a small number of privileged associates with whom contact is very fre-

quent indeed, while spending relatively less time with the rest. 824
Inevitably a gradation of associations thus develops. This gradation 431
of associations, among the Orokaiva, is expressed by the
ritual statement of taro gifts, made with varying frequency. We 571
thus find that the first (i.e., most frequent) partner is involved 621
in an average of 38% of all taro transactions, the second partner
in 24%, the third partner in 12%. The first and second partners
are in a clearly privileged position.

A second way of describing the pattern of intimacy would be to assume that there is some community norm whereby a certain degree of intimacy is expressed by a specific frequency of gifts. My impression, supported by the statistical facts and some generalizations offered by informants, is that each household has a few preferential partners to whom they give or from whom they receive taro at least twice a week, but often far more frequently. In this sense every household in my sample has at least two preferential partnerships. Nine out of twenty-two had a third, two had a fourth, while the leader of the Seho clan had five.

Topographically it is a general rule that neighboring households
form preferential partnerships. As the two clans live in [616]
rows on opposite sides of the village, linkages across the village
square (*araha*) were thus comparatively sparser than linkages [614]
on each side, though some interclan linkages were effected
through the households living along the short ends of the quadrangle,
these being only weakly linked to either clan but, in a
social sense, intermediate between the two.

Two types of hierarchical ordering should be distinguished 824
in this model. The first is the ordering within each clan, where
some people are intimate with the sociometric star whereas 571
others are connected with him through being intimate with an 431
intimate. The second type of ordering is close to what graph
theorists call a Hamilton circuit (Harari and Ross, 1954; Flament,
1968) and would be consistent with an almost total absence
of stratification. For the purpose of a particular transaction
with someone outside or inside the village, one often needs
the cooperation of a person with whom one is not intimate. This
fact is expressed in the model by the size of the total circle and